HOUSEHOLD HEALING: RITUALS, RECIPES, AND MORALS IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates China's rich tradition of household healing practices and reinterprets these practices in relation to religion, gender roles, and morality from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century. The skills of simple ritual, making medicines, and regulating daily life constituted everyday pragmatic technologies. A wide range of vernacular texts provided practical instructions for these practices. Such texts increasingly presented medicine as a kind of practice taking place in the domestic space of the household rather than a decontextualized abstract field of scholarly learning. The increased availability of these vernacular texts greatly facilitated the circulation of health related information and thereby contributed to a practice-oriented turn in medical culture in late imperial China.

Part One (Chapter One) discusses a specific kind of divination text that presented a domestic-centered imagination of illness and how vernacular texts rendered previously expert ritual knowledge a part of common people's repertoire of simple rituals and tricks. Part Two investigates how vernacular texts, especially practice-oriented recipes, enabled a domestic-centered medical culture by making healing techniques more accessible for use at home. Chapter Two focuses on the technical aspect of domestic production of medicine according to recipes. Chapter Three discusses circulation of these recipes in relation to literati sociability, philanthropic activities, and religious commitment. Part Three explores how elite women represented health care as vehicle for describing women's moral performance. Chapter Four looks at how elite women meticulously wrote about everyday health care for their family members in relation to talent and virtue. Chapter Five offers a case study of a late Qing elite woman, who integrated her domestic healing experience into her medical writing and found a new place for her domestic experience in a world disturbed by global competition.

Drawing on a wide range of texts people used in their daily healing practices and texts about household healing, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the heterogeneous health-related practices beyond the domain of learned medicine and the medical marketplace. It demonstrates the various ways in which the home served as a central site of healing technology in late imperial China.

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Measures

Weight
1 *dan* 石 = 59.5 kilograms
1 *jin* 斤 = 595 grams
1 *liang* 兩 = 37.2 grams
1 *qian* 錢 = 10 *fen* 分
1 *fen* 分 = 10 *li* 厘

Capacity
1 *dan* 石 = 67 liters
1 *dou* 斗 = 6.7 liters
1 *hu* 斛 = 3.35 liters

Length
1 *chi* 尺 = 32 centimeters

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A son and his wife preparing and tasting drugs in advance for their parents and parents-in-law
***Xiaoxue jicheng*, Zhu Xi (1130–1200)**

Mid-seventeenth century woodblock print

Introduction

From the seventeenth to the early twentieth century, the home was a central site of health care in China. Moral values and religious beliefs informed the diverse healing practices carried out in the domestic space; to treat oneself or family members at home, one might conduct some simple rituals, or consult a recipe book, a daily-use encyclopedia, a work of fiction, a meritorious book (*shanshu* 善書), or an almanac, and handle a set of substances and utensils as required by a specific recipe. Male literati in the late Ming and Qing tested and followed recipes at home as they pursued longevity using the techniques of "nourishing life" (*yangsheng* 養生). The authors of many Qing recipe books regarded home as a place where they had gained experience mixing medicines and developing cures. These authors kept recipe books as references at home, and encouraged others to make medicines in their homes. They also distributed recipe books to those in need in order to accumulate merit. For these varied purposes, elite men recorded detailed techniques of making pills and ointments for others to follow. Elite women represented home as a morally ordered sphere maintained by women's virtuous deeds. They thus celebrated writings and practices related to healthcare as expressions of wifely virtue or filial piety. In this dissertation, I investigate China's rich tradition of healing practices in the domestic space and the reinterpretation of these practices in relation to gender roles and morality during the Ming, Qing, and early Republican periods. I call attention to the ways in which vernacular texts, in both print and manuscript, enabled this domestic-centered medical culture by making practice-oriented recipes and simple ritual advice more accessible for people to use at home. I highlight how these recipes served as a genre through which literate amateurs newly recorded their own experiences and practice-oriented healing knowledge for non-medical experts like themselves.

Household Healing

In the past decade, historians of medieval and early modern Europe began to use the analytical term "domestic medicine" to challenge the conceptual framework used in studies of women healers produced in the 1980s and 1990s. Such studies focused on the professional and public roles played by medical practitioners, especially midwives, physicians, and surgeons.[1] In the field of European medical history, a domestic-centered perspective allows historians to highlight the central role women played in health care practice, and to expand the range of meanings covered by the term "medical care" from a definition limited to professional skills to one embracing a wide range of body-centered daily practices, many of which were conducted in the domestic sphere. These practices included management of sleeping and waking, exercise, and dietary practice.[2] Under this analytical category, historians have also relied on new source materials to investigate health-related domestic practices, most notably medical recipes used by and circulated among noble women. Their research demonstrates the usefulness of "domestic medicine" as an analytical framework for the discussion of the health-related activities that took place in the domestic space in relation to gender relations, as well as shedding light on the moral and political meanings of women's domestic practices.

In the field of Chinese history, no one has previously adopted a domestic-centered approach to understand the cultural and social meanings of health care practice, as well as the production and circulation of medical knowledge. Previous studies have

[1] In a 2008 article, together with the other contributors to a special issue of *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* Montserrat Cabré points out the necessity of breaking the occupational boundary and formulating a new framework that places the "domestic sphere" as a central locus of medical care. Mary Fissell has positioned this new scholarly agenda in the context of reflecting on the historical narrative about women healers dating back to the early modern period. She traces interest in women healers in seventeenth-century writers' self-justification pieces on midwifery, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medical historians' study of traditions of medieval female physicians, descriptions of midwifery in the late nineteenth-century narratives about obstetrics, twentieth-century women physicians' search for their own prehistory, and finally, to the 1970's feminists' excavation of women's medical practice in its social context. Montserrat Cabré, "Women or Healers?: Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1 (2008): 18-51; Mary Fissell, "Introduction: Women, Health, and Healing Early Modern Europe," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1 (2008): 1-17.
[2] Felicity Riddy has pointed out the centrality of the body in medieval housekeeping, see Felicity Riddy, "Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 212-228.

acknowledged domestic space as a crucial site where female family members and illiterate female healers had substantial influence in shaping medical knowledge, but few works have analyzed the rich cultural and social significance of women's (or indeed, men's) healing activities specifically in the domestic sphere. Like their colleagues studying European medical history,[3] scholars studying the history of medicine in late imperial China have emphasized medical pluralism within the broader medical marketplace, and they discussed domestic space as an arena where different kinds of healers competed with each other. This has led scholars to situate health care acts primarily in the context of patient-healer clinical encounters and to highlight the role of all kinds of medical experts as the primary providers of health care. This market-oriented approach underplays the prevalence of self-treatment and the rich healing practices that were undertaken in the domestic space.

Arthur Kleinman was the first to develop a theoretical framework to understand medical pluralism in Chinese medical culture. In an anthropological study based on his field work in Taiwan in the 1970s, he describes all medical activities as part of a health care system, which he understood as divided into three sectors: professional medicine, folk medicine, and popular medicine. The professional sector was occupied by professional healers, namely those who had received formal accreditation such as a

[3] Historians of European history have reflected on the assumed dominant position of the medical marketplace in discussion of medical pluralism. Mark Jenner and Patrick Walls have reflected on the scholarly use of the "medical marketplace" since it became an analytic framework for studying early modern medical practice in the 1980s. The scholarship on medical marketplace emphasizes medical pluralism before the establishment of professional health care system, and depicts a picture of competing service providers in a medical marketplace, in which patients had more power in making their choices. It challenges an earlier historical narrative of a three-part hierarchy of medical practitioners: physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, and claims to shift from elite perspective to "medical history from below." For a discussion of the social background of the emergence of this term in studies on medical history in the 1980s and its subsequent varied uses, see Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis, "The Medical Marketplace," in *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450-1850*, ed. Mark S.R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-23; Porter Roy, "The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below," *Theory and Society* 14.2 (1985):188; Porter Roy, "Introduction," in *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-22. For discussion on bringing back the sick person's perception and experience of illness, as an important part of the "wider market economics of medical provision," to supplement previous historical narratives dominated by professional practitioners, and the view of medical history as relationship between physicians and patients, see Henry Sigerist, "The Social History of Medicine," in *Henry E. Sigerist on the History of Medicine*, ed. Felix Marti-Ibanez (New York: MD Publications, 1960), 25-33.

license through a regulated education system. The folk sector is the non-professional sector, constituted by illiterate and religious healers who also had acquired technical skills and knowledge but though an unregulated education system such as through master-disciple or hereditary transmission. The popular sector, the largest one of the three, encompasses market, friend-to friend, and family-based healing activities. Kleinman states that this popular sector is where most healthcare decisions are made but it is the least studied and the hardest to access of the three.[4] Among these three sectors, the first two are characterized by the practice of medical specialists, namely those healers who patients will seek outside of their sphere of family, friends, and local networks and pay for their therapeutic knowledge and skills, whether they are formally accredited (i.e. professional) or not (folk). While the definition of the popular sector allows discussion of diverse health care practices by both medical experts and non-experts, it still posits medical experts as the holders of medical knowledge. Even though Kleinman defines the domestic space as a site where "illness is first defined and health care activities initiated," he still leaves the substantial treatment to the hands of professional doctors and other specialist healers.[5]

Building on Kleinman's typology derived from contemporary observation and applying it to the late imperial period, Christopher Cullen refined the definition of professional medicine sector. In his article, Cullen uses the term "literati medicine" to refer instead to professional sector in sixteenth-century China, which was comprised by literati physicians who were neither licensed nor accredited in any other way. He thus acknowledges the absence of institutionally based control over the medical profession in the late imperial Chinese context.[6] He also considers power relations among family members in the household as part of medical practice. He did this by using the sixteenth-

[4] Arthur Kleinman, *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture*: *An Exploration of the Borderland Between Anthropology, Medicine and Psychiatry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 24-70.
[5] Kleinman, *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture*, 50.
[6] For Cullen's modification of Kleinman's professional sector, see Christopher Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*," *History of Science* 31 (1993): 102-104.

century novel *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅) as a source to reveal the pluralism of medical choices in the household of a fictional merchant named Ximen Qing.[7] Cullen's analysis still prioritizes expert knowledge, and posits a dichotomy between the male-dominated and text-centered approaches of literati medicine and the techniques used by illiterate women. The fact that female members of Ximen Qing's family were more inclined to invite illiterate women healers, Cullen argues, indicates that the orthodox medical knowledge of male literate doctors was not a "cultural possession of women."[8] Fictional works like the one Cullen uses, however, also present ample examples of household healing amongst family members with no literate doctors or folk healers involved.

More recently, historians of Chinese medicine have highlighted the role of literate amateurs in the production of medical knowledge in late imperial China. These medical amateurs were educated people with certain social means, who were interested in medicine and actively compiled and published various kinds of medical texts. They produced works in the tradition of learned medicine and also compiled popular medical texts for a broader audience. They did not regard themselves as physicians, but their medical writings and healing activities complicated the already heated competition over medical authority among specialists.[9] In her study of literate amateurs' active engagement in the production and circulation of genecology texts, Yi-Li Wu depicts the landscape of medical culture in late imperial China as a "decentralized medical world" that was characterized by competition between medical practitioners of varied social means and

[7] Christopher Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*," 105-122.
[8] Ibid., 126-132.
[9] For medical specialists, legitimacy in many cases comes from being in a current of learning. See Marta Hanson's discussion of the nineteenth-century genealogy of warm diseases, *Speaking of Epidemics In Chinese Medicine* (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 126-150. See Volker Scheid's discussion of the *Menghe* school in *Currents of Tradition in Chinese Medicine* (Seattle: Eastland Press, 2007). For study on literati interest in publishing medical texts, see Marta Hanson, "Merchants of Medicine: Huizhou Mercantile Consciousness, Morality, and Medical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century China," in *East Asian Science: Tradition and Beyond*, ed. K. Hashimoto, et al (Osaka: Kansai University Press, 1995), 207-214; Ellen Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-century Publishing Authors," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.1 (1996): 77-122.

identities.[10] Studies on the rich sources authored or edited by amateurs call attention to the possession of healing knowledge by a wide range of people besides medical specialists and the manifold incentives for producing and circulating this kind of "self-help" medical knowledge. Yet, many of them still share a focus on the competition over text-based medical authority among multiple health providers in an imagined medical marketplace.

In this dissertation, I develop the concept of "household healing" as a central framework to analyze the cultural and social significance of a wide range of health-related practices, such as ritual healing, making medicine, and regulating daily activities—all of which took place in the domestic space in late imperial China. Many sources that come out of what Kleinman calls the "popular sector," such as divination manuals and folk recipes, take on new meanings when we consider them within the framework of "household healing." For example, "household healing" provides access to an important and specific spatial dimension of the "popular sector," and allows us to think beyond the limitations of the medical marketplace and the patient-healer dichotomy. In addition, many vernacular medical texts, especially in the form of recipe collections, were produced by both literati physicians and literate amateurs. These texts increasingly presented medicine as a kind of practice taking place in the domestic space of the household rather than a decontextualized abstract field of scholarly learning. A focus on spatial setting thus sheds new light on what Cullen calls "literati medicine."

My use of "household healing" benefits from studies on domestic medicine in European history, but also differs from this body of scholarship in several important aspects: First, I discuss household healing as encompassing both women and men as well as involving a wide range of health-related acts in the domestic sphere. Unlike scholars of early modern European medicine, I do not emphasize the dichotomy between male literati medical practitioners and illiterate women healers, nor do I see women as the

[10] Yi-Li Wu, "The Bamboo Grove Monastery and Popular Gynecology in Qing China," *Late Imperial China* 21.1 (2000): 41-76.

primary health providers in their homes. Second, to reveal the cultural and social significance of the domestic space as a central site of health care, I investigate health care acts at the intersection of medicine, religion, and morality. I thus consider the home as part of a larger religious and moral order, and domestic health care practices as simultaneously a form of religious and moral performance. Third, I examine the impact of a variety vernacular texts, including recipe collections, divination texts, fiction, daily-use encyclopedias, and almanacs as forms of domestic literature that are informative about household healing activities. Thus, my discussion of "household healing" acknowledges the heterogeneous sources of medical authority beyond learned medical texts. I use this wide spectrum of texts to illuminate both elite and non-elite practices, but I do not mark them as definitively different from each other. I see more shared values and practices between people of different social strata as a result of their common readership of vernacular texts. Moreover, I do not see domestic health care practices as contained solely within the domestic sphere; I pay attention as well to how domestic practices were informed by the larger context of publishing culture and invested with broader social, moral, and religious values.

In my discussion of "household" or "domestic" healing practices, I not only consider home as a physical space but also illuminate the various ways in which home served as a foundation of cosmic and political order as well as a central site of technology. I follow Francesca Bray's definition of technology as embodying materially based practices and skills that both exercised within and shaped power relations.[11] Bray has called attention to how technologies and their representations had woven gender principles into the everyday practices in the household and state ideologies, especially in the domains of farming, textile production, and reproduction.[12] In the field of medicine, the home was a crucial site of healing techniques and practices in late imperial China.

[11] Francesca Bray, *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial China: Great Transformation Reconsidered* (New York: Routledge), 2013, 4-5.
[12] Ibid., 13-14, 16.

The techniques or skills of simple ritual, making medicines, and regulating daily life constituted everyday pragmatic technologies. A wide range of vernacular texts, flourishing from the late Ming on, provided practical instructions for these practices. Some of these practices and their representations conformed to the state ideology by highlighting home as a moral space maintained by women's virtuous healing deeds. Some texts present the home as locale for merit accumulation, a site for making reliable medicines that could benefit the world, a single cell in the generation and proliferation of "good works" (*shan* 善), and thus part of the public sphere upheld by local elites' activism.[13] Some others posited home as a battlefield between the living and the demons, and thereby part of a larger religious order that could be acted upon by way of folk rituals. Thus, the practices and representations of domestic healing techniques revealed fluidity in the meanings of home, and the rich moral and religious meanings healing acts could evoke in eveyday domestic settings. For all of these meanings, home did not signify an enclosed domestic sphere, nor did it necessarily contain only women's practices. Both women and men dealt with rituals, substances, and utensils in their homes and invoked symbolic meanings of home in their daily health care acts.

Gendered Representations of Healing Practices in the Domestic Space

In late imperial China, medicine increasingly meant a domestic practice, rather than a literati pastime, for both men and women. They regarded and represented health care practice in their households as pragmatically and morally significant, but in different ways. Male literati presented making elixirs as an important part of their practice of cultivating life, which was mainly a series of bodily-centered techniques for regulating everyday activities with the ultimate goal of pursuing longevity. Many medical recipes in

[13] For discussions of "public sphere" and local elite activism in organizing charity organizations in early modern China, see William Rowe, *Hankou: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796–1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); *Hankou: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796–1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); "The Public Sphere in Modern China," *Modern China* 16.3 (1990): 309-329; Angela Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming Qing de cishan zuzhi* (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1997). Joanna Handlin Smith discusses charitable institutions and networks in the late Ming, see *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China* (University of California Press, 2009).

male-authored recipe books from the Qing also identified men as the only undefiled "purified" personnel for making medicine in their households, denouncing women together with domestic animals as polluting and thus to be excluded. Women in the nineteenth century nonetheless increasingly performed and articulated their female-gendered virtue through quotidian acts of health care for their family members. While no scholarship has been produced discussing the centrality of the home in men's health-related activities, we already have many fruitful works on women's domestic health care practice in China.

Scholarship on women's domestic medical practice in late imperial China, however, has largely focused on illiterate women healers. Historians have depicted these women healers as the counterparts of male literati physicians and also as outsiders who stepped into their clients' households and had substantial influence on other people's domestic healing activities. Scholars excavated the negative images of illiterate women healers' medical activities in male-authored medical texts and literary sources. Angela Leung, for instance, has summarized the historical use of the pejorative term "three kinds of female devotees and six types of old wives" (*sangu liupo* 三姑六婆) and the social context in which the hostility towards illiterate women healers emerged.[14] Christopher Cullen's and Charlotte Furth's studies show that literary sources often depicted woman healers as ignorant outsiders threatening the domestic order from the perspective of male householders, to whom literate doctors represented a more convincing source for the explanation of illness.[15] Using fiction and personal accounts by elite men, Victoria Cass has discussed male elites' criticism of midwives, female herbal sellers, and wet-nurses as

[14] Xu Yuanrui 徐元瑞 first mentioned the term in his *A Guide to Officialdom* (*Lixue zhinan* 吏學指南, 1301), and Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 followed him in using the term in his *Records Compiled after Returning from the Farm* (*Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄, 1366). See Angela Leung, "Medical Learning from the Song to the Ming," in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, eds. Richard von Glahn and Paul J. Smith (Harvard University Press, 2003), 396. Also see Angela Leung, "Women Practicing Medicine in Premodern China," in *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past: New Perspectives*, ed. Harriet Zurndorfer (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 101-134.

[15] Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665* (University of California Press, 1999), 266-300; Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the Jinpingmei."

dangerous agents who handled such critical issues as fertility and moved in and out of elite households in the Ming. Cass argues that from the perspective of male elites, women healers posed a threat to the household precisely because of their ability to cross social boundaries.[16] Yi-Li Wu explains how elite male physicians denounced midwives as merely managing the physical aspect of childbirth, in their effort to establish medical authority by discursively constructing childbirth in cosmologically resonant terms after the late Ming. Offering theoretical explanations of childbirth, male literate doctors claimed that illiterate midwives did not truly understand the human body and the natural process of childbirth.[17]

Although fiction and medical case histories shed light on otherwise unrecorded domestic healing activities, historians have mostly investigated these sources from the perspective of clinical encounters to discuss how power relations in the domestic space shaped medical knowledge and practice. In his article on medical encounters in the late Ming novel *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, Christopher Cullen thus contrasts the "orthodox" medical language of literate male doctors and the practices of illiterate women healers in the domestic sphere and the different attitudes male and female family members held towards medical practitioners of different genders and from different sectors.[18] Charlotte Furth analyzes the encounters and personal relationships among physicians, patients, and their family members as reflected in medical case histories. She demonstrates that domestic space was an important venue for the generation of medical knowledge. She argues that medical knowledge was in fact a common cultural property, established by three kinds of medical language: formal, experimental, and metaphorical. Different agents in the clinical encounter participated in the process, using and appropriating different kinds of medical language. Her study shows that gender relationships in domestic spaces were critical in shaping clinical encounters, and, in turn,

[16] Victoria Cass, *Dangerous Women: Warriors, Grannies, and Geishas of the Ming*, (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 47-64.
[17] Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 147-187.
[18] Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*."

contributed to the diffusion of medical authority.[19] Francesca Bray has spotlighted the central role reproductive hierarchies played in domestic practices related to reproduction, abortion, and menstrual regulation. She argues that the power of the primary wife in the household empowered these women, rather than the doctors, to serve as the decision maker in reproduction related practices.[20] But none of these studies regard the household itself as a location for healing practices independent of professional, folk, and literate healers.

Historians have also identified several examples of elite women with considerable medical learning in their discussion of women writers who practiced within their households. Regarding women's medical writings as the sole criterion for judging their medical learning, these studies assume medicine is a field of literati learning, and thus a manifestation of women's talent. Susan Mann discusses the medical learning of women from the Zhang family in Changzhou in the nineteenth century.[21] In a study of medical texts produced after the late Ming, Yi-Li Wu avers that medical texts by women were rare, listing Wu Bai 吳栢 (ca. mid-17th cent.), Tang Yaoqing 湯瑤卿 (1763–1831), Zeng Yi 曾懿 (1852–1927), and Gu Dehua 顧德華 (ca. mid-19th cent.) as unusual examples. Wu further argues that the preservation of texts by women depended on male family members and associates interested in publishing them.[22] Furth has done a case study on the late Ming woman Tan Yunxian's medical case histories as a record of gendered clinical encounters.[23] Only limited attention has been paid, however, among these scholars to the moral meanings of women's medical learning. Angela Leung mentions a late Qing salt commissioner Xie Yuanfu's *Medical Admonitions for Daughters* (*Xunnü Yixue* 訓女醫學, 1892), which was written for his daughter. She

[19] Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 224-265.
[20] Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 273-268.
[21] Susan Mann, *Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
[22] Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 19-22.
[23] Furth, *A Flourishing Yin*, 266-300.

argues that an impetus for female members of gentry families to study medicine was the male family members' belief that good wives and mothers needed to know something about medicine.[24]

The emphasis on textual authorship and specialized knowledge in the studies on women's medical practice in late imperial China also lingers in studies on the Republican period, which focus on the professionalization of two groups of women medical practitioners, elite female doctors and midwives. While studies of women's medical writing during the late imperial period place women's medical learning as one field of elite women's talents, studies on female doctors during the Republican period discuss female medical professionals against the background of a new social and political context, specifically in relation to the new nation-state. They thus link the education and social standing of female doctors to the modernization discourse of the Republican period. Angela Leung's study shows that the late Qing nationalist discourse constructed female doctors as a symbol of China's modernization, yet female doctors held varied identities based on class, religion, and gender roles. These identities influenced their attitudes towards the nationalist project.[25] In his study of early twentieth-century Daoism, Liu Xun introduces female doctors who were strongly identified with inner alchemy Daoism and actively engaged in self-cultivation practice, and yet who had previously also been trained in western medicine.[26] Official records of programs for training midwives during the Republican period offer an opportunity to look into the transformation of discourses regarding illiterate women healers during the Republican period. Tina Phillips examines the Nationalist government's effort to professionalize midwives as a strategy of promoting public health during the period from 1927 to 1937, within the context of

[24] Leung, "Dignity of the Nation, Gender Equality, or Charity for All? Options for the First Modern Chinese Women Doctors," in *The Dignity of Nations: Equality, Competition, and Honor in East Asian Nationalism*, eds. Sechin Y. S. Chien and John Fitzgerald (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 71-91.
[25] Ibid., 75-76.
[26] Liu Xun, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asian Center/HUP, 2009), 201-204, 128-230.

China's nation-building discourse, which targeted women as the mothers of future citizens and important contributors to the national cause.[27]

These previous studies have highlighted women's roles as healers within and outside the domestic space. Yet a historical narrative emphasizing medical specialists and professionals in relation to their illiterate opposites in the broader medical marketplace cannot fully accommodate the rich social and moral meanings of women's domestic healing activities. In this dissertation, I discuss how educated women made use of existing roles and symbols to invest their domestic work with moral significance. Since the early 1990s, historians have celebrated elite women writers who forged social networks with their reading and writing activities, and whose literary talent generated much debate over women's proper position in society.[28] My research reveals that these writing women sought to link talent with virtue—and assigned moral meanings to their everyday health care acts as wives, mothers, daughters, and daughters-in-law. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, women's virtue was central in the construction of state ideology, the formation and expression of women's subjectivity, and the contestation of power relations.[29] Elite women in late imperial China represented home as a central site of their moral practice, an important aspect of which was providing health

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[27] Tina Phillips Johnson, *Childbirth in Republican China: Delivering Modernity* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011).

[28] Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). For a discussion of the eighteenth-century debate on women's literary talent, see Susan Mann, "'*Fuxue*' (Women's Learning) by Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801): China's First History of Women's Culture," *Late Imperial China* 13.1 (1992): 40–62.

[29] Historians of late imperial China have discussed women's virtue as a central theme in their effort to connect women's history to political and economic history after the 1990s. This ground breaking scholarship, inspired by Joan Scott's 1986 paper, is part of the effort to use gender as an analytical category in the study of late imperial China. Susan Mann and Dorothy Ko provide a comprehensive framework, which connects women's history to kinship, education, state ideology, and the development of intellectual history, and in which women's virtue was at the center of the interaction between normative concepts, state ideology construction, and subjective identity. Janet Theiss explores how state policies defined and enforced female virtue and how female virtue was contested in everyday practices. Francesca Bray discusses meanings of female virtue from the perspective of women as producers of commodities and reproducers who contribute to the continuity of family line. Her study investigates women's work in the context of the changing economic pattern of cotton and silk production after the Song dynasty. Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997); Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chamber* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1994); Janet Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); *Technology, Gender and History in Imperial China: Great Transformation Reconsidered* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

care to family members. They represented health care as practice-oriented women's work that required knowledge and skills fully held in the hands of elite women, who mostly did not self-identify as female healers.[30] They thus forged a strong connection between their gender roles and health care acts within their families.

Moreover, I argue that the home served as a central site of medical practice for both men and women in late imperial China. This not only broadens our scope of study to diverse health care acts beyond the hands of medical specialists, but also allows a meaningful comparison between Chinese and European cases. Historians of medieval and early modern Europe have successfully used domestic medicine as a conceptual tool, though in varied ways, to establish women's central roles in health care practices. However, they have primarily focused on elite women.[31] For example, Montserrat Cabré has proposed to use recipes as a primary source for investigating women's medical activities in relation to women's other domestic activities.[32] Catherine Field argues that recipe books were especially appealing to women in early modern Europe, as they helped construct women's authority in matters related to cooking and medicine, and thus served as a powerful vehicle of self-expression for women.[33] Elaine Leong has done a case study of Elizabeth Freke's (1641–1714) domestic production of "cure-all" and "just-in-case"

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[30] Francesca Bray distinguishes women's work from womanly work. While womanly work, in its most orthodox forms—weaving and spinning—appeared as a prominent cultural symbol of female virtue, women's work as a descriptive term encompassed a much wider range of practices. Bray, *Technology and Gender,* 183-187.

[31] For a discussion on women's cookbooks printed after 1660, see Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writings 1646-1688* (London: Virago, 1988), 165-189. Also see Raymond Anselment, "'The Want of Health': An Early Eighteenth-Century Self-Portrait of Sickness," in *Literature and Medicine* 15.2 (1996): 225-226. For a discussion of the textual and social context of the emergence of domestic handbook, see Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620," in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, eds. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 89-107. For early modern printed how-to technical manuals on cookery, silkworm production, and husbandry, see Elizabeth Tebeaux, "Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of a Genre," in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, 19-62. Lynette Hunter, "Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, and Behavior," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 514-532. For a recent study on elite women's medical practice in early modern Germany, see Alisha Rankin, *Panacelia's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[32] Montserrat Cabré, "Women or Healers?: Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1 (2008): 36-39.

[33] Catherine Field, "Many Hands: Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books," in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, eds. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 49-64.

medicines, using Freke's heterogeneous household inventories, which contain culinary recipes, medical recipes, medical reading notes, remembrances, poetry, copies of important documents and accounts, and an inventory of her possessions. Freke's interest in making medicine at home, Leong points out, was shared by women in many other elite families during the early modern period who collected recipes and made medicine as a pastime and part of their domestic duty.[34] Household practitioners bought ingredients and equipment on the market and enthusiastically searched for medical knowledge from family, friends, medical practitioners, and vernacular print. While earlier studies view domestic medical practice as distinct from the wider marketplace of medicine, Leong shows that these domestic activities were not separated from the wider medical market. Comparable to these early modern European practices, the domestic practice of making medicine in the Chinese context was also informed by commercially printed vernacular texts and writings by professional healers. But as Elaine Leong points out, while scholars of the European histories have successfully stepped beyond the old framework based on professional labels and highlighted women's medical activities in the context of the domestic sphere, they over-emphasized the extent to which recipes were a genre exclusively for women.[35]

In my discussion of Chinese cases, I draw on a wide range of both male-authored and female-authored texts, ranging from biographies, letters, essays, diaries, and recipes, to family precepts, encyclopedias, handbooks, and story collections. By using these varied sources as texts produced out of (or for) domestic healing practices, my work not only presents women's health care activities from a new perspective, but also extends the scope of household healing as an analytical category to include male practices within the

[34] Also see Andrew Wear's study on the utensils and ingredients used in domestic medicine production. Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge University Press. 2002), 55-103. Elaine Leong, "Medical Recipe Collections in the Seventeenth-Century England: Knowledge, Gender and Text," (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2005), 26-67; Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1 (2008): 145-168. For saving the sick at home as a Christian duty carrying moral connotation for "good housewives," see Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge University Press. 2002), 49-50, 55.

[35] Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," 145-168.

home. Healing with ritual in the domestic space, making medicines at home, and health care for children and elders in daily life, all of these domestic healing activities represent a practice-oriented turn in medical culture in late imperial China. One important historical change in late imperial China that enabled this practice-oriented change in medical culture is the increasing availability of all kinds of vernacular texts during this period. Fiction, encyclopedias, almanacs, recipe collections, and meritorious books, appeared in cheap printed editions that were easily accessible to all literate family members of ordinary households.

Vernacular Texts for Household Use: Recipes, Encyclopedias, Almanacs, and Fiction

The increased production of all kinds of vernacular texts greatly facilitated the circulation of health related information from the late Ming through the Qing. Vernacular literature, including encyclopedias, almanacs, fiction, and meritorious books served as the media through which practical medical knowledge circulated; the boundaries between these different genres of texts was also porous. People of all walks of life used these texts as reliable sources of self-healing techniques at home. Literati sociability, philanthropic activities, and religious commitment contributed to the production and circulation of these texts. The penetration of texts to more remote places and down the social ladder by way of the market further improved access to healing knowledge. Among the various kinds of vernacular texts, recipes were especially effective in providing instructions for domestic health care practices and contributed to the textual reproduction of medical knowledge in the domestic space. The proliferation of medical recipes in all kinds of daily-use publications beginning in the seventeenth century entailed easier access to healing knowledge by non-experts. Many recipes provide step-by-step guides on how to make medicines. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, people of all walks of life, especially literate amateurs, increasingly recorded their practice-oriented healing

knowledge in the form of recipes and circulated recipes as texts for domestic use. The prefaces of many recipe collections, some in print and some in manuscript, tell stories about how their authors devoted themselves to collecting, testing, and circulating recipes.

This dissertation discusses the recipe as an epistemic genre that facilitated and recorded health-related practices in the domestic setting.[36] My discussion benefits from recent scholarship on medical history that highlights the role of recipes as an epistemic genre that recorded practice and provided a textual form for the transmission and assimilation of medical knowledge between different medical cultures. Gianna Pomata is the first to propose to study genres that were used in making and transmitting knowledge as epistemic genres, among which the recipe stands out as a representative kind. She discusses the close relationship between the textual form of the recipe and medical knowledge production based on practices in European history. She also points out the important roles recipes played in the interaction between learned and popular cognitive practices (i.e. having to do with producing knowledge) related to medicine.[37] Marta Hanson and Gianna Pomata's work on "Medicinal formulas and experiential knowledge"

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[36] The genre of recipe was an ancient textual form in Chinese medical culture, as it was in many other cultures including ancient Greek, Babylonian, and Egyptian. Recent scholarship has brought to our attention the bifurcation in the development of recipes in both Chinese and European medical culture into two main forms: recipe-formula and recipe-prescription. The former contains a standardized healing solution prescribed by a canonic text and is mostly the product of elite form of knowledge; the latter was prescriptions for a specific individual and usually emphasizes the healing practice and experience. Gianna Pomata proposes to study the later as an epistemic genre. The "practice-oriented recipes" I discuss in this dissertation belong to the later domain. But unlike the European cases Pomata discussed, in which physicians prescribed recipes according to the patient's individual constitution, many authors of recipe collections in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China promoted these "practice-oriented recipes" as universally applicable. They often attached the word "proven" (*yan* 驗) to the word "recipe" (*fang* 方) to advertise their recipes as having been proved effective by practice and thereby suitable for anyone with the same symptoms to use in their own homes. In most cases, I use "recipe" as a general and brief term meaning recipe-prescription, and also to acknowledge the textual overlap between medical recipes and other household recipes. Marta Hanson and Gianna Pomata, "Medicinal Formulas and Experiential Knowledge in the Seventeenth-century Epistemic Exchange between China and Europe," *ISIS* 108.1 (2017): 1-25.

[37] Pomata's definition of epistemic genre is built on the non-essentialist definition of genre articulated by genre theorists in the 1980s and 1990s, who considered genre as a form "used by people to represent the world and to act on it." Pomata proposed to use the term epistemic genres to describe genres used in "the making and the transmission of knowledge." Different from literary genres, these genres include the treatise, encyclopedia, textbook, recipe, case history, etc. Pomata calls attention to the ways in which epistemic genres are constantly appropriated and transformed by their users. For Pomata's discussion on the recipe as an epistemic genre, see Gianna Pomata, "The Recipe and the Case: Epistemic Genres and the Dynamics of Cognitive Practices," in *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichte des Wissens im Dialog/ Connecting Science and Knowledge,* eds. Kaspar von Greyerz, Silvia Flubacher, and Philipp Senn (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 131-144.

looks into how a common belief in experience embodied in some recipes in both China and Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century facilitated the exchange of *materia medica* knowledge between the two via the recipe as a shared genre. They identify the recipe as an epistemic genre serving as a vehicle for the transmission of experiential knowledge across cultures. Carla Nappi's study, "Bolatu's Pharmacy Theriac in Early Modern China," also describes the recipe as a textual form that mediated cultural exchange between the early modern Chinese and Islamic medical systems.[38]

Acknowledging the close connection between practice and text in the formation of recipes, I further discuss how, in vernacular fiction, encyclopedias, and handbooks, recipes served as a textual form through which practical healing techniques and other domestic skills as well as literary inventions intermingled. I also highlight how recipes bridged expert knowledge and household knowledge. Unlike scholarship on European history, which regards the recipe as a form of domestic literature,[39] I find that in the Chinese context, recipes frequently moved between expert and non-expert contexts. The same recipe could appear in both medical texts by literati physicians and handbooks for household use. Learned physicians and literate amateurs also wrote books intended for non-experts to use to in their daily lives. They promoted "proven recipes" (*yanfang* 驗方) as universally suitable for anyone with the same symptoms. I thus look into the overlap and interplay between expert and non-expert texts.

Considering recipes as both guide to and record of domestic healing practice also sheds new light on the materiality of medical culture in China. Our current understanding of the material aspect of Chinese medical culture has largely been limited to knowledge

[38] Marta Hanson and Gianna Pomata, "Medicinal Formulas and Experiential Knowledge in the Seventeenth-century Epistemic Exchange between China and Europe," 1-25; Carla Nappi, "Bolatu's Pharmacy Theriac in Early Modern China," *Early Science and Medicine* 14 (2009): 737-774.
[39] Historians of European history tend to view culinary, medical, and household recipe books, as part of "domestic literature," a concept Helen Wilcox elaborated in a 2002 article, which includes texts both "produced within" or "associated with" the domestic space, ranging from letters, biography, memoirs, and lyrics to conduct books, meditations, and diaries, etc. See Helen Wilcox, "Literature and Household," in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, eds. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 737-763, esp. 759.

of drugs as recorded in writings by literati physicians, most importantly the *materia medica* literature. Recently, historians have started to explore actual healing skills and the techniques of handling medical instruments. Yi-Li Wu discusses the manual handling in healing traumatic injuries and the importance of tools in the field of injury medicine (*shangke* 傷科) through a case study of the book by physician Hu Tingguang's 胡廷光 (ca. late 18th to early 19th cent.) titled *A Compilation of Collected Teachings on the Curriculum of Injury Medicine* (*Shangke huizuan* 傷科彙纂, pref. 1815).[40] My dissertation contributes to the field of medical history by examining the rich material culture involved in domestic healing practices, beyond the record of *materia media* literature and writings of literati physicians. Domestic healing practices, informed by various kinds of vernacular texts, were characterized by an emphasis on techniques of ritual as well as those needed in order to handle a wide range of substances and utensils. Many of these healing supplies were just commonly available household items. Domestic healing thus represents a much more diverse range of healing practices, compared to the text-based literati medicine that has been dominantly studied in the history of Chinese medicine.

In a broader sense, I investigate how various kinds of vernacular texts, including medical recipes, delivered rich domestic healing techniques to their readers. The increasing availability of healing techniques that commoners could apply in their own homes signifies a practice-oriented medical culture different from learned medicine, which prioritized classical texts and master-disciple transmission. I use both manuscripts and printed texts to reveal the social dynamism in the production and circulation of these texts. Individual recipes traveled across time and space at the fingertips of collectors. In some cases, they were printed out as collections in the form of a book, but in most cases they were just transmitted and collected in manuscripts written more like commonplace

[40] See Yi-Li Wu, "A Trauma Doctor's Practice in Nineteenth-Century China: The Medical Cases of Hu Tingguang," *Social History of Medicine* August (2016): 1-24; "Between the Living and the Dead: Trauma Medicine and Forensic Medicine in the mid-Qing," *Frontiers of History in China*, 10.1 (2015): 38-73.

books than formularies, or even just written on pieces of note paper. While printed recipe books sometimes provide examples of commercially available knowledge, manuscripts usually keep more traces of the actual practices of collecting recipes and making medicines.[41]

In addition to textual analysis of their composition, my study also extends to investigate the social dynamism involved in the circulation of these texts. In their work on early modern Europe, Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell propose to think about recipes, not in terms of writings or a distinct genre, but as commodities exchanged across boundaries within certain social networks. In the context of circulation, they argue, the value and reliability of the recipes were judged based on the relationship between the owner and receiver, and that these exchanges also helped maintain these same social relations.[42] Similar cases can also be found in late imperial China. People of varied social means distributed recipes within and beyond their personal networks: recipes circulated as gifts within literati circles; more importantly, the religious belief of reward and retribution induced people from different social strata to share recipes with others in order to accumulate merit.[43] While local elites fashioned their meritorious book projects as intended for universal aid, people of moderate means might just give away an individual recipe to their friends or relatives in the hope of accumulating merit through a single good deed. Recipes as commodities thus acquired legitimacy and authority in their

[41] Most of the manuscripts I use in this dissertation came from Paul Unschuld's private collection of over 800 medical manuscripts produced from the eighteenth- to early twentieth-century in China. These manuscripts are now kept in two libraries in Berlin, the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz and the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin-Dahlem. In the following chapters, I refer to this collection in brief as the Berlin collection.

[42] Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, "Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace," in *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450-1850*, eds. Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 133-152.

[43] From the late Ming to the early twentieth century, charitable organizations organized by local elites emerged first in the Jiangnan region and then flourished nationwide. Via these organizations, male elites formed local or regional networks and promoted the value of doing "good works" (*shan* 善) in the hope of reforming social order. In the social restoration after the mid-nineteenth century civil war, they increasingly invested acts of "good works" with a deep religious connotation. The meritorious books written and distributed by them, together with other vernacular prints such as fiction and precious scrolls, advised people to accumulate merit in the logic of reward and retribution. These texts presented distributing recipes and medicines made by oneself as an important way to accumulate merit.

transmission by clearly marking their provenance and thus their relationship to particular social networks and sometimes their religious purposes as well.

Project Outline

I divide this dissertation into three parts, each part dealing with one aspect of domestic healing activities from the late Ming to the early Republican period. Part One, including Chapter One, focuses on ritual healing practices in the domestic space. Part Two, including Chapters Two and Three, investigates knowledge and practices related to making medicine as part of domestic life. Part Three, including Chapters Four and Five, explores moral meanings attached to women as they cared for the health of family members and thus fulfilled their roles as daughters, wives, and mothers. These five chapters together present a diverse range of domestic healing experiences with rich ritual, religious, and moral meanings spanning just over three centuries.

Chapter One discusses a specific kind of ritual healing conducted in the domestic space in the Ming and Qing: namely, the ritual for combating illness-causing demons. I identify a group of divination texts, the *fabing* (法病) treatises, included in late Ming daily-use encyclopedias such as the *A Genuine and Complete Self-help Compendium of Everything Needed for Gentry and Commoners* (*Shimin wanyong zhengzong bu qiuren quanbian* 士民萬用正宗不求人全編, 1607) and Qing almanacs such as the *Records from the Jade Casket* (*Yuxia ji* 玉匣記) as well as manuscripts of ritual specialists' handbooks and commonplace books such as *A Record of Daily Observations* (*Duo jian er zhi zhi* 多見而識之) from the late Qing and early Republican period. I discuss how these divination texts identify the home as the central site for diagnosing the illness causing demonic threat and carrying out the treatment. I also look at how these vernacular texts transformed previously expert ritual knowledge into a part of common people's repertoire of simple rituals, tricks, and methods of fortune calculation.

Chapter Two uses the nineteenth-century manuscript *A Convenient Survey of Medical Recipes* (*Yifang bianlan* 醫方遍覽) to examine the domestic practices of making medicine according to recipes. I discuss the technical aspects of the substances and utensils used in the making process as well as the diverse healing experiences these techniques brought into ordinary households. To contextualize the practice-oriented recipes in the *Survey* and situate them at the end of a much longer historical trajectory, I examine recipes included in the much earlier literature on cultivating life and alchemy and writings on external medicine to reveal how techniques in expert texts entered into texts for domestic use from the late Ming to the Qing, and thus became more widely available. Using both printed texts and manuscripts, I demonstrate the blurred boundary between expert and non-expert writings, and show how literate amateurs and physicians facilitated this transmission of knowledge.

Chapter Three explores the social significance of the circulation of these practice-oriented recipes through vernacular literature and personal connections. I start the chapter with an investigation of how the meaning of "proven" (*yan* 驗) and "recipe" (*fang* 方) came to emphasize practical experience and skills of making medicine rather than textual knowledge of the proper combination of drugs. When recipes came to embody practical healing skills that anyone could apply in their homes, they were meant to be circulated as widely as possible. I use both printed recipe books and recipes in manuscripts, for example the printed recipe collection *A Collection of Proven Recipes of Elixirs* (*Jingyan danfang huibian* 經驗丹方匯編, earliest preface dated 1708) by Qing scholar Qian Jun 錢峻 (ca. Late 17th to early 18th cent.) and the manuscript *A Collection of Good Recipes* (*Jiye liangfang* 集腋良方) by a late Qing official, to discuss the social networks and moral impetus that facilitated the distribution of recipes into commoner households. In the end, I place medical recipes in the larger context of vernacular texts, including

primarily fiction and encyclopedias. I look at the intertextual movement of recipes among these different genres of texts and analyze how recipes served as a site for the negotiation between practical knowledge of healing techniques and literary invention.

Chapter Four uses five cases to illustrate how elite women articulated their medical learning and health practices in their households in relation to women's talent and virtue from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. I use essays, letters, biographies, and precepts women wrote to investigate how women increasingly assigned moral meanings to their health care for family members as a daily and practical household activity over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I start with Wang Zhenyi's 王貞儀 (1768–1797) reflection on her medical learning as a talent that could potentially harm women's virtue in her late eighteenth-century *The First Collection from the Pavilion of Virtuous Customs* (*Defeng ting chuji* 德風亭初集, 1797). Then I look at Chen Ershi's 陳爾士 (1785–1821) letters to her husband written around the year 1818 and collected in *The Surviving Manuscripts from the Pavilion of Listening to Pine Tree* (*Tingsonglou yigao* 聽松樓遺稿, after 1821). Here Chen asserted her wifely virtue through fashioning herself as the guardian of the health conditions of her family members. After this, I analyze a biography in the same anthology, in which Chen Ershi illustrated her mother-in-law's moral power by describing her deeds and words in response to family health crises. I then move to Liu Jian's 劉鑒 (1852–1852) *Precepts for Women from the Zeng Family* (*Zengshi nüxun* 曾氏女訓, 1907) written in the first decade of the twentieth century. I pay special attention to how Liu Jian incorporated health care into detailed instructions for women's everyday domestic lives. I end this chapter with a discussion of a set of biographical writings about Chen Yun's 陳雲 (1885–1911) life, which are collected in *The Remaining Works of Filial Daughter Chen* (*Chen xiaonü yiji*

陳孝女遺集, 1911) and *Poetic Commentaries on Poetry from the Younger Black Jade Pavilion* (*Xiaodai xuan lunshi shi* 小黛軒論詩詩, 1911). I highlighted how Chen Yun interpreted her literary learning as a way to cure her ill mother.

Chapter Five then presents a case study of Zeng Yi's *Essays on Women's Learning* (*Nüxue pian* 女學篇, 1907) and *Essays on Medicine* (*Yixue pian* 醫學篇, 1907). I investigate how Zeng Yi reinterpreted this nineteenth-century legacy as highly moralistic understanding of women's domestic health care in a new global context emphasizing hygiene, biological motherhood, and household administration, in the first years of the twentieth century. I begin the chapter with a discussion of Zeng Yi's engagement in learned medicine and her use of her own domestic healing experience to validate her textual learning. Then I examine how she integrated women's medical learning and health care for family members into her new framework of women's learning in the face of contemporary needs of national strengthening.

The increased availability and circulation of vernacular print shaped household healing practices in late imperial China. In private hands and in the market for printed books, ritual treatises and individual recipes traveled across time and space at the fingertips of collectors. Literati sociability and merit accumulation motivated men and women to distribute texts bearing healing information to their friends or to people they might never know. Healing at home meant a cluster of heterogeneous practices: to negotiate with demons, to collect recipes, to handle utensils and drug substances, and to regulate daily activities. To heal at home also meant varied personal endeavors: the restoration of the ritual order in one's home, an approach to literati self-cultivation, or a demonstration of wifely virtue and filial piety. By looking at the medical texts used in daily life and texts that wrote about daily healing experience, we gain new perspective on the central roles that gender, religion, and morality played in shaping the meanings of illness and healing acts at home.

Part I: Rituals and Sites

Chapter One: Combating Illness-Causing Demons and Spirits at Home

On a midwinter day in the early Ming,[1] Chao Yuan shot and killed a fox with his bow during a hunting trip with his friends, all of whom were scions of wealthy local families. As the only son of the newly appointed magistrate of prosperous Huating County, Chao Yuan had lived a life of pleasure with his wife Woman Ji and concubine Zhen'ge in his native place, Wucheng County in Shandong. The fox that he killed was actually a fox spirit, a magical being that could change either into a charming young woman or an old lady. Upon his return home, after the hunting trip, Chao Yuan felt as if he had been hit in the face. He fell ill soon afterwards. Upon taking some medicine prescribed by a certain Doctor Yang, he gradually recovered. Later, he asked a servant to skin the fox and make its fur into a seat cushion. Yet right before the first day of the lunar New Year, in the early morning he dreamed that he saw an old man with a white beard wearing an ivory hat and a brown Daoist robe. The old man spoke in the voice of his grandfather and scolded him for shooting the fox and neglecting Woman Ji. He warned Chao Yuan not to go out of his home the next day and also smacked Zhen'ge on the head before he left, blaming her for bringing bad fortune to the family. At exactly the same time that Chao Yuan woke up, Zhen'ge also awakened in a fright and shouted out loud, feeling "severe pain on her left temple" (*zuo taiyang bian zhuoshi tengtong* 左太阳邊著實疼痛). Subsequently, she "had a headache and could not get up from the bed, and experienced alternative hot and cold flashes" (*hai zai chuangshang touteng, qi bu lai,*

[1] The completion time of *A Marital Fate to Awaken the World* is under debate among scholars. Many now agree that the book was finished in the early Qing and its author set the background of the stories as the Ming dynasty. For a recent summary of scholarship on the issue of authorship and dating, see Yang Chunyu, "Xingshi yinyuanzhuan de yanjiu xushuo: guanyu banben he chengshu niandai wenti," *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 68.2 (2003): 155-170.

shenshang zeng han fa re de 還在床上頭疼起不來身上增寒發熱的).[2] Later in the morning, Chao Yuan fell from a "mounting-stone" (*matai shi* 馬臺石) when he tried to get on his horse and passed out for several hours. Doctor Yang came again and prescribed two decoctions. The decoctions relieved some of the symptoms such that both Chao Yuan and Zhen'ge recovered to some extent. Yet Zhen'ge's headache worsened.

The doctor's visit did not completely cure her illness; the real problem, as Zhen'ge's severe and lingering headache suggested, lay in some supernatural power revealed by the dream. The grandfather's spirit told Chao Yuan that the fox spirit sat (*zuo* 坐) on the mounting-stone with the fox skin in her hand waiting for an opportunity to take revenge on him. She was unable to enter the household, since the Door God and the House God kept her at bay. Even worse, the grandfather's spirit was angered by Chao Yuan's heartless attitudes towards his wife Woman Ji. Chao Yuan suspected a supernatural cause and consulted a "book on demons" (*suishu* 祟書) that the wife of a family servant had recommended. The servant's wife sent someone to borrow the book from a Daoist master at Zhenwu temple. Opening the book, she looked at the entry on the thirtieth day of a month and found the Stove God was unhappy on that day. But Chao Yuan said: "It was not the thirtieth day. [Zhen'ge] had the headache after she woke up, and at that time it was already the first day of the month." The entry for the first day reads: "It is because (someone) has enraged the spirit of the ancestors (*chunu jiaqin* 觸怒家親). The demon (*gui* 鬼) sits (*zuo*) at the front of the ancestral hall (*jiatang* 家堂). [One should] sincerely repent of his misdeeds and make offerings to achieve auspiciousness (*zhicheng huiguo daogao ji* 至誠悔過禱告吉)."[3] Chao Yuan recalled the dream and realized that the cause of the headache was the unhappiness of his grandfather's spirit. He

[2] Xizhou Sheng, *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 32-33.
[3] Ibid., 34.

immediately asked the servant's wife to pray in front of the grandfather's tablet in the ancestral hall. Zhen'ge's headache gradually disappeared after the prayer, but Chao Yuan felt "increased swelling and pain on his face" (*zhangtong de jin* 脹痛得緊).[4] Two days later, when Zhen'ge came to kneel down in front of the grandfather's tablet and was about to thank him for his protection, she saw the grandfather appear again as an eighty-year old man wearing a purple cloth on his head and a thick brown winter coat. She was frightened when the grandfather's spirit coughed, which suggested he was still angry with her.

The above account summarizes the opening episode of the novel *A Marital Fate to Awaken the World* (*Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳), which was probably written by a Shandong native during the years of the Ming-Qing transition.[5] In this story, Chao Yuan offended both a fox spirit and his deceased grandfather due to his indulgent and immoral behavior: he intentionally killed the fox, favored his concubine, and abused his wife. This episode serves as the starting point of a cycle of reward and retribution. The pain that Chao Yuan and Zhen'ge experienced was the clearest manifestation of the deep-seated problems in their way of life. They were alert to these signs and figured out the underlying meanings right away with the help of a divination book. The pain was suggested not in terms of any identified disease category diagnosed by a literati doctor, but rather through direct description of bodily feelings: severe pain, hot and cold flashes, and swelling. But what is most significant about this episode for this chapter is that it describes these symptoms in relation to domestic spaces: a fox spirit sitting on the mounting stone and the grandfather's spirit enshrined in the ancestral hall. In the divination book, the time that the symptom first occurred (i.e., the first of the month rather than the 30th of the previous month) revealed both the pain's cause (the grandfather's spirit) and his domestic location in the ancestral tablet.

[4] Ibid., 35.
[5] Xizhou Sheng, *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*, chapter 1-3.

In this story, the protagonists search for the cause of an illness—and identify its cure—within the bounds of their own domestic space. The story thus suggests the centrality of home in the conception of certain illnesses in late imperial China. Domestic space was part of a larger religious and cosmological context, in which people in this world encounter, fight against, and negotiate with spirits, demons, and deities. Fox spirits, ancestral spirits, spirits of natural creatures, and demons could easily enter into the home; by contrast, the Stove God, Door God, and House God, as well as other local deities inhabited the domestic space to ward off evil powers and protect the family. These religious ideas also informed people's ideas about illness: the appearance of demons in one's home or an outraged ancestral spirit could cause various kinds of pain or illness. The experience of illness in these cases thus involved a search for the origin of ailments and knowledge of demons and spirits, description of bodily feelings as manifestations of evil influence, and exorcism of demons as a form of treatment. Calculating the occurrence of demons according to a certain temporal sequence, deciding the location of demons in the domestic space, and visualizing their appearance thus became essential processes of analyzing bodily conditions.

This story also illustrates the role of vernacular texts, like divination handbooks, in spreading the home-centered imagination and treatment of illness. This chapter uses encyclopedias, almanacs, and personal manuscripts from the late Ming to the early twentieth century to investigate ideas about illness-causing demons and spirits in the home. In these sources, we find divination texts that deal specifically with the routine emergence of illness-causing demonic threats. These texts appeared under different titles, such as "The Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness" (*Zhang tianshi qubing fu fa* 張天師祛病符法), "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" (*Fabing shu* 法病書), "The Demon Valley Master's Ways of Treating Illness" (*Guiguzi zhibingfa* 鬼谷子治病法), and "A Secret Record Naming the Demons

Associated with the Sequence of Celestial Stems and Terrestrial Branches" (*Huajia shuo gui milu* 花甲說鬼秘錄). These materials have enough internal coherence to consider them to represent a stable sub-genre of the demonic medicine literature.[6] All of them present evidence of the legacy of Daoist divination tradition, like the use of the terms "The Heavenly Master Zhang," "The Demon Valley Master," and "Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" in their titles.[7] Specifically, the use of the word "method" or "ritual" (*fa* 法) in both the section title of late Ming encyclopedias and in one of the late Qing manuscripts might generally refer to Daoist rituals and codes for combating demons.[8] I

[6] I adopt Paul Unschuld's use of the term "demonic medicine," as referring to one of the three medical traditions in Chinese history, with the other two, for him, classified as ancestor therapy and medicine of systematic correspondence. According to Unschuld, demonic medicine encompasses a wide range of healing practices based on the idea that illnesses are caused by evil spirits and usually requires ritual treatment. Like the other two traditions, the way in which illnesses are explained and treated reflects political and social ideas. Unshuld argues that demonic medicine emerged as a result of the political and religious changes during the Zhou dynasty, and evolved in complex relationship with other healing traditions down to the early twentieth century. As early as the Tang dynasty, Sun Simiao (581-682?) included an independent section on using drug prescriptions to treat demon-caused illnesses in his work that was built on the basis of the classical medical tradition. For Unschuld's discussion of demonic medicine, see *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 29-45, 215-227; For study on the relationship between demonic medicine and the classical medical tradition, see Chen Hsiu-fen, "Dang bingren yudao gui: shi lun Ming Qing yizhe duiyu xiesui de taidu," *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 30 (2008): 43-85; Li Jianmin, "Suibing yu changsuo: chuantong yixue dui suibing de yizhong jieshi," *Hanxue yanjiu* 12.1 (1994): 101-48. None of these studies, however, discussed literature about domestic-centered demonic threats.

[7] The "Heavenly Master Zhang" refers to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34–156), the founder of the Way of the Heavenly Masters sect of Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道), or serves as the title of later generations of Heavenly Masters who were believed to be the descendants of Zhang Daoling. "The Demon Valley Master" refers to a legendary figure living during the Warring States period. He has been credited as the author of a group of writing on political lobbying compiled between the late Warring States period and the end of the Han dynasty, and also been deified as a Daoist master and a master of divination.

[8] Paul Unschuld and Zheng Jinsheng's translate "*fabing*" (法病) as "statutory illness." They suspect that the word "*fa*" might refer to a certain statute, but without specifying one. See Unschuld and Zheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing the Berlin Collections of Manuscript Volumes from the 16th through the Early 20th Century*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, 2085. It is worth noting that similar texts from the late Tang Dunhuang area used the title "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness" (*fabing shu* 發病書). And this phrase was also used in the title of a popular booklet, "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness Following the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches Cycle of Sixty Days" (*Sui liushi ganzhi fabing shu* 隨六十干支發病書), which was printed in 1963 Taiwan and has similar entries. (See Slg. Unschuld 8794) The word "*fabing*" (法病) could be an alternative writing of "*fabing*" (發病, meaning "occurrence of illness") as in Chinese they are homophones with different tones. It is also possible that the use of "*fabing*" (法病) emerged in Ming encyclopedias as a section title to encompass a range of divination texts that require treatment using certain kinds of ritual, which bears a strong Daoist overtone. According to Michel Strickmann, the fourth-century Daoist text *Demon-Statutes of Nüqing* (*Nüqing gui lü* 女青鬼律) assigns a benign sprit to each of the sixty days using the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches system, and gives the family names and given names of demons. The text also assigns the task to control demons to the Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling, and tells (probably ritual specialists) to call the demon's name out as the way to combat demons. The *fabing* treatises discussed in this chapter apparently bear some legacy from this Daoist technical text. Strickmann

propose calling these variations of the texts on illness-related divination "treatises on illnesses that require ritual treatment"[9] and use the Chinese term *fabing* from one of the titles above to refer to this genre collectively. The texts that I have grouped in this category all provide a rubric that helps people to discern the presence of an illness-causing demon in the home and to identify the demon based upon the day on which one's illness first occurred. Such texts also explain how to expel the demon in order to cure the illness. They are arguably representative of the types of pragmatic divination sources the author of *Marital Fate* used as literary models.

Demonic Threats in the Domestic Space

Central to the therapeutic content of these *fabing* treatises was the notion that demons posed a constant threat to health in daily life. These sources depict homes as vulnerable to illness-causing demons. Indeed, in such sources, we find demons invading the domestic space, rather than the individual human body. These texts thus present domestic space as a physical site providing a spatial framework and material basis for the imagination of demons and, in turn, the illnesses they cause. Illness resulted when demons threatened a ritually maintained domestic order. Such texts presented common people and ritual specialists as defenders of the domestic order against demons, and thus, as healers of the ill-at-home patient. They advised people to use simple exorcism rites to rid the home of disease-causing demons. They thus functioned as a guide for common people to think about illness in terms of their domestic spaces.

The idea that demons inhabit the world, living among people in everyday settings rather than in a faraway underworld or peripheral spaces has its root in Chinese religious

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argues that the *Demon-Statutes of Nüqing* might present the first "attempt to compose full-scale codes of law for the invisible world" in Chinese history. For Strickmann's discussion of this text, see *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 80-88. The word "*lü*" in the title, according to Strickmann, refers to ways and codes a Daoist specialist could follow to control demons, as introduced in the texts. Thus, in the Daoist context, the word "*fa*" might convey the meaning of the method to control demons according to certain codes, which usually involve the use of using ritual, like calling the name of the demon out. In this chapter, I follow Strickmann's reasoning and therefore translate the term "*fabing*" as "illnesses that require ritual treatment."

[9] In the following sections, I refer to this term in brief as *fabing* treatises.

culture. Barend Ter Haar has argued for a demonological paradigm as the basis of Chinese traditional religious culture.[10] According to this paradigm, "all kinds of demons" posed a "persistent and fundamentally violent danger to human beings."[11] Ter Haar emphasizes that ancestors, deities, and demonic beings all could, under certain circumstances, become variously named demons (*gui* 鬼, *yao* 妖, *mo* 魔) with violent intentions to harm living people. In this dangerous environment, human beings must engage in counter-violence to combat the ubiquitous demons. Moreover, Ter Haar asserts, the calculus of demonic threats and violent counter-actions also informed inter-human relationships, and, in this sense, people at all levels of society participated in this paradigm.[12] The demonic paradigm posits a conflict between the ordered world of living people and the chaotic world of demons. Violence in this context serves as a means to re-establish order. According to Ter Haar, the demonological paradigm provides an alternative worldview to the male-elite dominated and text-based models of harmony exemplified by the Yin-Yang cosmological model and the range of Confucian social ideals, as well as related ideas of social hierarchy.[13]

The illness-causing demons described the *fabing* treatises adhere to Ter Haar's broad definition of demons. These sources do not differentiate between "demons" (*gui* 鬼), "prodigies" (*guai* 怪), "deities" (*shen* 神), and "ancestral spirits" (*jiaqin* 家親) as potential illness-causing agents that reside within or come into one's home. Yet, unlike Ter Haar's emphasis on the demonic threat to the ordered world of All-Under-Heaven or a local community, such as a village, both cases of which envision society as a whole, my sources present the domestic space as a major site threatened by demons. To combat the

[10] Ter Haar is not the only one who posits war against demonic powers at the center of religious culture of China. In the early twentieth century, J. J. M. De Groot argued that the war against demons was the central function of the religious system of China, which he meant Daoism. J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religious System of Chna* (Late E. J. Brill, 1910), vol. 6.
[11] Barend Ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons," in *China's Great Proletarian Revolution: Master Narratives and Post-Mao Counternarratives*, ed. Woei Lien Chong (London: Rowman &Littlefield, 2002), 29.
[12] Barend Ter Haar argues that this demonological paradigm fundamentally shaped the ideology and development of both the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth-century Cultural Revolution. Barend Ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons," 42-60.
[13] Ibid., 27-37, 42-55.

demon required not communal effort but rather individual action.[14] Furthermore, rather than appearing at transitional points of time during a year, in one's life course, or at liminal and peripheral locations, demons in these texts potentially intrude into, and sometimes even inhabit, the most common living spaces on a daily basis. Moreover, these sources show that ritual, rather than violence, can expel the demons and restore order both to the domestic space—and to the human body.

During the late imperial period, home was an important site for ritual practice, a realm infused with popular cults. Domestic ritual practices were informed by both popular prints and texts as well as elite-authored texts intended to shape popular practice. The Ming dynasty carpentry manual *The Classic of Lu Ban* (*Lu Ban jing* 魯班經) presents the house as a ritual space.[15] Texts and images including New Year prints, portraits of the Door God, calendars, the altar to Heaven and Earth, and ancestral shrines, constituted the household as a ritual space.[16] The popular cult of the Stove God, who watched and reported on household activities, prevailed throughout the empire during the Qing. At the same time, local elites created texts describing the correct way to observe the rites honoring him.[17] Local elites in the Qing also considered family rituals carried out within the home as a major means to establish social order and to negotiate their relationship with the state and the uneducated.[18] Historians have probed into the question of elite influence over popular practices.[19] The circulation and use of *fabing* treatises provides another window for us to see popular ritual practice at home.

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[14] Previous studies of demonic threat have focused on communal expelling rituals and the function of these rituals in integrating local community. For an excellent example, see Paul Katz' work on rituals for sending away plague demons: Paul Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).
[15] Klass Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China, a Study of the Fifteenth-century Carpenter's Manual Lu Ban Jing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993).
[16] James Flath, *Cult of Happiness: Nianhua, Art, and History in Rural North China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 33-58.
[17] Robert Chard, "Rituals and Scriptures of the Stove Cult," in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion*, ed., David Johnson (Berkeley: Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1995), 1–54.
[18] Chow Kai-wing, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford University Press, 1994).
[19] Both Robert Chard's on the Stove Cult and James Flath's study on the New Year print show the limited impact of elite efforts on local practice.

The *fabing* treatises present a domestic space that could be disturbed by malevolent demons and spirits but which could also be restored to a state of "auspiciousness" (*ji* 吉) by expelling the invading demon or spirit. These texts assume a domestic order constantly exposed to demonic threat, yet also guarded by folk rituals. They stress the importance of re-establishing order as the final goal of combating the demons: people have to restore their home to a harmonious state in order to recover from their ailments. This ritual-oriented view of domestic space and medicine differs from the Confucian social or moral view of domestic healing that highlighted the importance of virtuous deeds of daughters, daughter-in-laws, and wives in maintaining a morally harmonious family sphere.

Previous scholarship on popular religion, secret societies, and the history of medicine has addressed the issue of ritual healing from varied angles. Ethnographic studies on popular religion record detailed ritual processes, seeing specialists as leading players and regarding healing as one of the many functions of rituals.[20] Scholars of secret societies in the Qing have noticed the importance of healing in legitimating the power of leaders and for attracting followers.[21] Paul Unschuld discusses demonic medicine as an alternative conceptual tradition of diseases different from those understood within the system of correspondence, tracing its long-term development from the Warring States period through the Ming and Qing.[22] These studies have shown the rich social meanings of illness and its treatment, as well as the complexity of the underlying ideology of illness-related ideas. But if we treat ritual healing as a field of knowledge held by specialists, we limit ourselves to a search for sources that record the often secretly and orally transmitted knowledge of specialists. The outcome of this approach is unsatisfactory: we either only have detailed information based on contemporary

[20] For an example of ethnographic study on the healing ritual held for a rural family, see Cao Lin, *Jiangsu sheng Tongzhou shi Henggang xiang Beidian cun Hushi shangtongzi yishi* (Taibei: Shi hezheng minsu wenhua jijinhui, 1995).
[21] For example, see Chiu Li-Chuan, "Yi cha zhi bing: Qing dai zhongqi hongyangjiao de chaliao fa," *Nanda xuebao* 39.2 (2005): 67-86.
[22] Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*, 29-50, 215-228.

anthropological fieldwork, leaving what happened in earlier periods to speculation, or look for information on healing rituals from sources written by literate doctors, who are assumed to be the counterparts of folk specialists.[23]

The diversity of the sources in which the *fabing* treatises appear suggests that it is inadequate to consider them solely in the context of any one religious tradition or any one tradition of medical thought. That the *fabing* treatises appear in vernacular texts, like daily-use encyclopedias, and almanacs, as well as manuscripts of ritual specialist's handbooks or commonplace books created by non-experts suggests the complex relationship between religious culture, vernacular literature, and local history. Recent studies on Chinese religious culture abandon the "structural" approach to divide Chinese religion into distinct traditions, such as Daoism and Confucianism, defined by doctrines and institutions.[24] Richard von Glahn's discussion of "vernacular religion" helps us locate the *fabing* treatises in the landscape of Chinese religious culture. Von Glahn uses "vernacular religion" as a framework to discuss belief and ritual that is local, created partly by common laypersons rather than religious specialists, and derived from "complex and shifting sets of religious ideologies and practices."[25] This approach allows us to consider religious beliefs and practices in the process of historical change and in the power relationships of local community. The Ming and Qing *fabing* treatises reflect the vernacularization of specialized rituals, which finally appeared as common knowledge for household use. They drew on both religious resources like the authority of legendary Daoist authors and vernacular literature like fiction, encyclopedias, and almanacs.

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[23] For example, Chen Hsiu-fen has discussed literati physician's attitude towards ritual healing. See "Dang bingren yudao gui: shi lun Ming Qing yizhe duiyu xiesui de taidu," *Guoli Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 30 (2008): 43-85.

[24] William Rowe's study on the local history of Macheng County in Hubei province from the Yuan dynasty through the first half of the twentieth century demonstrates the penetration of the demonic threat into popular legends, collective memory, and local historical writing. Mark Meulenbeld's study on the Ming novel *Canonization of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義) reveals the important role of ritual for combating demons in one of the most popular novels in late imperial China, in dramas performed in countless local theatres, as well as in the activism of local militias. William Rowe, *Crimson Rain: Seven Centuries of Violence in a Chinese County* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Mark Meulenbeid. *Demonic Warfare: Daoism, Territorial Networks, and the History of a Ming Novel* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

[25] Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 12.

Furthermore, they transcended the textual boundary between specialized religious or medical texts and vernacular texts like encyclopedias, almanacs, and fiction. They presented laypeople as the holders of ritual knowledge, and in their description of illnesses, they utilized a language different from scholarly medicine that reflects their different social origin.

I divide this chapter into three subsections. In the first section, I use the *fabing* treatises in three late Qing and early Republican manuscripts to illustrate basic ideas about illness-causing demonic threats and the textual features of these texts. I then discuss the treatises' textual context and circulation through an investigation of related sections in the late Ming encyclopedias and Qing almanacs. I also analyze the authorship of the late Qing and early Republican manuscripts. I argue that with the development of commercial publishing and the expansion of distribution networks, encyclopedias, and almanacs popularized previously specialized knowledge, reinventing it as everyday knowledge that common people could master. Knowledge from these materials became part of common people's repertoire of simple rituals, tricks, and methods of fortune calculation. Information thus moved more freely than before between ritual specialists and commoners. In the last section, I look into details of these *fabing* treatises to unpack their representation of the home as a central site for the imagination of demon-caused illness. I argue that the incorporation of *fabing* treatises into encyclopedias and almanacs entailed an emphasis on domestic space as a central site for the imagination of illness-causing demonic threats. These texts placed concerns about illness in the larger framework of belief in an ever-present demonic threat that could be calculated according to cosmological time and the physical spaces of the home. The corresponding ritual relied on a belief in human capacity to restore the disrupted domestic order. They thus represented private homes as a physical space where people located and visualized illness-causing demons and carried out strategic acts to restore domestic order for their health.

The *Fabing* Treatises as a Genre

The earliest textual evidence of the *fabing* treatises can be found in the approximately twenty manuscripts dealing with illness-related divination in a highly heterogeneous mix of versions in the Dunhuang region during the period from the second half of ninth century to the tenth century.[26] Donald Harper has discussed the parallel between these Dunhuang texts and even earlier divination texts unearthed from tombs of the fourth and third century BCE.[27] In addition, the eighth-century administrative law, *Compendium of Administrative Law of the Six Divisions of the Tang Bureaucracy* (*Da Tang liu dian* 大唐六典), lists illness-related divination under the title "the occurrence of illness" (*fabing* 發病), as one of the nine types of "miscellaneous divination methods related to Yin and Yang" (*yinyang za zhan* 陰陽雜占) practiced by the Office of the "Grand Diviner" (*taibu* 太卜).[28] The same title was used in one of the Dunhuang manuscripts.[29] While Harper describes the Dunhuang divination texts as having been created and used by medical and religious specialists, officials, local elites, and as accessible to the masses,[30] these earlier texts suggest that *fabing* treatises were transmitted as a specialized form of knowledge among specialists and elites from the fourth century BCE to the Tang dynasty.

From the late Ming to the Qing, however, *fabing* treatises circulated in a new textual context. In the early modern period, they were included in commercially printed encyclopedias and almanacs, were recorded in ritual specialist's handbooks, and also found their way into commonplace books. I build my analysis of the transmission and

[26] During this period Daoist and divination traditions converged, and Daoist activities became popular among the lower levels of society. See Huang Zhengjian, Dunhuang *zhanbu wenshu yu Tang Wudai zhanbu yanjiu* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2001); Liu Yongming, "Dunhuang zhanbu yu Daojiao chutan: yi P. 2856 wenshu wei zhongxin," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 2 (2004): 15–25.
[27] Harper thinks this textual tradition disappeared in the later period. See Donald Harper, "Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R and P. 2675 V," in *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts*, ed. Vivienne Lo (New York: Routledge, 2005), 134-138.
[28] *Da Tang liu dian*, *juan* 16, 61 (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962), 300.
[29] See footnote 7.
[30] Harper, "Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R and P. 2675 V," 159.

properties of *fabing* treatises during the Ming and Qing on three kinds of sources. The first group of materials is comprised of seven encyclopedias published during the period from the 1590s to the 1630s, in which the "Section on *Fabing*" (*fabing men* 法病門) provides a series of divination texts detailing the occurrence of demons in the domestic setting and methods for their exorcism. In these texts, illness-causing demons were addressed under the title "Heavenly Mater Zhang's Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment with Talismans and Rituals for Righteous Justice" (*Zhang Tianshi fabing shu mingduan fufa* 張天師法病書明斷符法) and "The Auspiciousness and Inauspiciousness of Illness According to the Celestial Stems" (*Zhu ri tiangan debing jixiong* 逐日天干得病吉凶)." (See Table 1). These texts subsequently were copied into manuscript sources, including those from the late Qing and early Republican period discussed below.

Table 1 Late Ming encyclopedias with the "Section on *Fabing*"

Late Ming Encyclopedias with the "Section on *Fabing*" (*fabing men* 法病門) Containing "Heavenly Master Zhang's Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment with Talismans and Rituals for Righteous Justice" (*Zhang Tianshi fabing shu mingduan fufa* 張天師法病書明斷符法)[31]	
Date of Publication	Title, Place of Publication
1597	*Xinqie quanbu tianxia simin liyong bianguan wuche bajin* 新鍥全補天下四民利用便觀五車拔錦, Minjian
1599	*Xinke tianxia simin bianlan santai wanyong zhengzong* 新刻天下四民便覽三台萬用正宗, Jianyang
1600	*Xinqie yantai jiaozheng tianxia tongxing wenlin jubao wanjuan xingluo* 新鍥燕臺校正天下通行文林聚寶萬卷星羅
1607	*Dingjin chongwenge huizuan shimin wanyong zhengzong bu qiuren quanbian* 鼎鋟崇文閣彙纂士民萬用正宗不求人全編, Jianyang
1610	*Xinqie quanbu shimin beilan bianyong wenlin huijin wanshu yuanhai* 新鍥全補士民備覽便用文林彙錦萬書淵海, Jianyang

[31] In a recent reprint of late Ming popular encyclopedias, seven out of 42 works have the "Section on *Fabing*." The compiler estimates that there are more than 100 extant encyclopedias from the late Ming. Seen from the 42 included in this compendium of reprints, which also include specialized encyclopedias for different uses, such as those of stories, wording, names of things, local dialect, a majority of the daily-use encyclopedias have the "Section on *Fabing*." See Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan lishi yanjiu suo ed., *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan*, vol.1 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2011).

1612	*Xinban quanbu tianxia bianyong wenlin miaojin wanbao quanshu* 新板全補天下便用文林妙錦萬寶全書
1633	*Xinke renruitang dingbu quanshu beikao* 新刻人瑞堂訂補全書備考, Nanjing

The second group of sources includes four editions of *Records from the Jade Casket* (*Yuxia ji* 玉匣記) published during the late Qing and early Republican period and one early Republican *Complete Book of Myriad Treasures* (*Wanbao quanshu* 萬寶全書), both of which have sections titled "The Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness." (See Table 2).

Table 2 *Yuxia ji* and *Wanbao quanshu* from the Late Qing to the Early Twentieth Century

Yuxia ji and *Wanbao quanshu* from the Late Qing to the Early Twentieth Century Containing "Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness" (*Zhang tianshi qubing fu fa* 張天師祛病符法)	
Date of Publication	Title, Place of Publication
1797	*Xin zengguang Yuxia ji* 新增廣玉匣記
1864	*Xin zengguang Yuxia ji xuanze tongshu* 新增廣玉匣記選擇通書, Jinling (Nanjing)
1880	*Huitu zengguang Yuxia ji* 繪圖增廣玉匣記 (Suzhou, Saoye shanfang edition, might be published elsewhere)
1919	*Zengbu Yuxia ji* 增補玉匣記, Shanghai (Two copies, the other one entitled 新增補繪圖選擇萬寶玉匣記全書)
Early Republican	*Zuixin huitu zengbu zhengxu wanbao quanshu* 最新繪圖增补正续萬寶全書, Shanghai "Heavenly Mater Zhang's Treatise on Warding off Illness with Talismans and Rituals" (*Zhang Tianshi qubing shu mingduan fufa* 張天師祛病書明斷符法)

The third group of sources gathers together three late Qing and early Republican personal manuscripts containing entries either under the name of "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" (*Fabing shu* 法病書) or with different titles but comparable content. (See Table 3).

Table 3 Manuscripts containing *Fabing* Treatises

Manuscripts Containing *Fabing* Treatises, from the Late Tang to the Republican Period	
Manuscript #, Number of pages, Dates[32]	Title Genre
Pelliot Chinois. 2856 Dated as 862	"Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness" (*Fabing shu* 發病書)
Or. 8210/ S. 6216 Late Tang	(fragment of a single page *fabing* treatise)
Slg. 8554 (81 pages) 1854 or 1914[33]	"Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" (*Fabing shu* 法病書) Specialist's notebook, Shandong
Slg. 8563 (96 pages) Late Qing	"Demon Valley Master's Ways of Treating Illness" (*Guiguzi zhibing fa* 鬼谷子治病法, page 30-41) in "Formulas Based on Experience" (*Jingyan fang* 經驗方) Commonplace book, Zhang Mingshi 張明世
Slg. 8184 (40 pages) Late Qing	A section of "A Secret Record Naming the Demons Associated with the Sequence of Celestial Stems and Terrestrial Branches" (*Huajia shuo gui milu* 花甲說鬼秘錄, page 4-14) and "Heavenly Master Zhang's Rituals to Ward off Illness" (*Zhang tianshi qubing fa* 張天師祛病法) in "A Record of Daily Observations" (*Duo jian er zhi zhi* 多見而識之) Commonplace book, Shandong
Slg. 8406 (36 pages) Early Republican	"Heavenly Master Zhang's Rituals to Ward off Illness"(*Zhang tianshi qubing fa* 张天师祛病法) in "Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness"(*Zhang tianshi qubing fu fa* 張天師祛病符法) Specialist's notebook, Hu Yinghuo 胡應火

Treatises in manuscripts keep more traces of their actual usage compared to printed texts, like encyclopedias and almanacs, which present relatively uniform and stable content. Yet, these manuscripts pose critical challenges for interpretation. The four late Qing and early Republican manuscripts are from a collection of medical manuscripts

[32] In the main text, I use "Slg." referring to manuscripts of the Unschuld collection in Berlin, "P." as an abbreviation for "Pelliot Chinois" of the Dunhuang collection in National Library of France, and "Or./S." for Dunhuang collection in British Library. Zheng Jinsheng and Paul Unschuld have published a catalogue of all the Berlin collection with detailed introductions to each manuscript. See Unschuld and Zheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing the Berlin Collections of Manuscript Volumes from the 16th through the Early 20th Century*, 2012. Some images of the original Dunhuang texts were digitized and published online by the International Dunhuang Project, at http://idp.bl.uk.

[33] The manuscript has two cover pages. The characters were written in a different calligraphic style, yet look like they were written by one person judging from the left-leaning slant of some of the strokes. On the first cover page, the author wrote the "year name" (*jiayin* 甲寅). The catalogue takes it as 1914, but it also could be 1854. The manuscript seems to contain no other detail helpful for identifying the date. (The paper quality of the second cover page seems early twentieth century).

from eighteenth- to twentieth-century China, originally collected by Paul Unschuld and now held by two libraries in Berlin. This newly available collection opens great opportunities for the study of medical history in China. It includes a wide range of texts related to medical practice by professional doctors, lay healers, ordinary households, magicians, astrologers, etc., all of which are valuable sources for exploring the diversity and pluralism of medical ideas and practices in late imperial China. But in using these manuscripts, scholars face difficulties in identifying their authorship and specific time period. I initially found the "Treatise on Illnesses That Require Ritual Treatment" (*Fabing shu* 法病書)[34] in this collection, and then I searched out the other similar texts through its published catalogue. Although it is hard to determine the date of their creation and find out information about their authors, we can work out some continuity in these manuscripts from earlier Ming and Qing printed sources. I will discuss these issues in the next section. To illustrate their shared features, here I focus on one of these texts, the "Treatise," while also making reference to two other late-Qing manuscripts from the same collection "Formulas Based on Experience" and "A Record of Daily Observations."[35]

In spite of variations in details, entries on illness-causing demons in the late Ming encyclopedias, late Qing almanacs, and commonplace books all include references to similar demons, exorcistic methods, and bodily symptoms. They also made use of similar sentence structures and vocabulary. These texts taught users a way to imagine illness on the basis of the material reality of domestic spaces and provided them with a repertoire of hands-on strategies to relieve their anxiety and fear over the ever-present demons in their daily lives. In the "Treatise" the text starts with the date when the illness first occurs, then tells which demon is making trouble, specifying its name and appearance. After this, it gives a list of symptoms so that the patient or the specialist can compare the actual

[34] I refer to this manuscript in brief as "Treatise" in this chapter.
[35] I choose to focus on these three manuscripts because they all feature a spatial conception of the domestic space.

symptoms of the patient in question with the demon-caused illness described in the text. If the patient's symptoms accord with what the text describes for that date, then one can use the text to work out the location of the demon and carry out the required ritual action to relieve the crisis.

The sentence structure in the "Treatise" shows minor variations within the texts. For example, in some entries details about the demon come after the description of symptoms whereas in others the description of the illness comes first. But the general structure is as follows (Figure 1):

> AA 日病者, 其鬼姓 BB, 名 CC, (形状如何行为如何), 令人 DD, 鬼在 EE 上坐, (如何祛除, 如 "去之则吉").[36]
> If the illness occurs on the day of AA, the demon's surname is BB, its given name is CC, (a description of its appearance and behavior), it causes the person to feel like DD, the demon sits at EE, (a short description of the way to restrain it, like "simply removing the object will achieve auspiciousness").

Figure 1 A page showing the described sentence structure from "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" for *Day Dingyou*

As we saw in the episode from *Marital Fate*, *fabing* treatises use a divination method that builds on a specific temporal factor, the date on which the illness first occurs.[37] The temporal order is a means by which the demonic cause can be known, its location determined, and a human action taken. Here, the "Treatise" uses the 60-day

[36] Since each entry uses different words to describe the demon and ways to expel it, I put description of those parts of the original texts in parenthesis.
[37] For a discussion of the relationship between medicine and astrology in China, see Chang Che-chia, "Medicine and Astrology: Their Encounter on a Cross-cultural Occasion," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24(2005): 62-77.

cycle on the basis of stems and branches. The use of stems and branches in illness-related divination has precedent in archeological findings from the fourth and third century BCE.[38] While the system of stems and branches correlated with the five phases (*wu xing* 五行) and cardinal directions; for example, *jia* and *yi* are associated with the phase wood and the direction east. In the "Treatise" no corresponding rules can be observed between the time, directions, and the property of the artifacts. For instance, out of the twenty-seven entries that give the direction of the object, ten are located in the southeast (fire), and only one is located in the west (metal). And there are seventeen artifacts associated with earth (center), but only three linked to water (north). The other two *fabing* treatises assign different directions and objects to the same date. That these treatises do not follow the corresponding rules suggests they were not intended to serve as a divination tool, but rather they give direct instructions for readers to follow. The use of the 30-day circle of the lunar month in the *fabing* treatises in Ming encyclopedias and in the late Qing manuscript "Formulas Based on Experience" also testifies to the decreasing association between the treatises and diviners. Non-experts could easily follow the vernacular time of the lunar month; no correlations needed to be calculated.

The "Treatise" includes exceptionally detailed descriptions of the demons, telling readers their surnames, given names, colors, appearance, and behaviors. The shapes of the demons have the following range: filial sons, human-like figures, beautiful women, animals, objects, monks, and Daoist priests (See for example, Appendix, Figs. 40, 55, 56, 57, 72, 83, 84). "A Record of Daily Observations" also uses a surname and a given name to identify demons, and describes the appearance of the demons. (Figure 2 and 3). Although "Formulas Based on Experience" gives a different set of demons, it shares some of the same deities with the "Treatise," like the "six spirits/gods of the house" (*jiazhai liu shen* 家宅六神). (Figure 4).

[38] Harper, "Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R and P. 2675 V," 134.

Figure 2 The first page of "A Secret Record Naming the Demons Associated with the Sequence of Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches" in "A Record of Daily Observations"

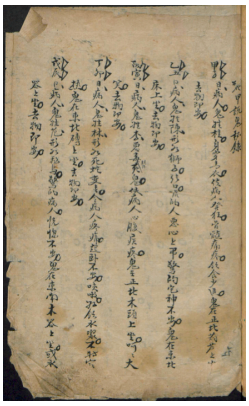


Figure 3 The first page of "Master Zhang's Methods of Treating Illness" in "A Record of Daily Observations"

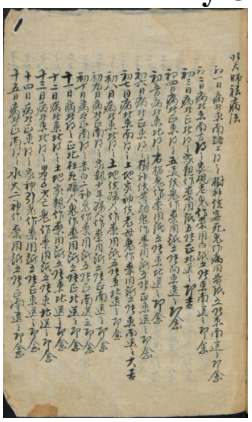
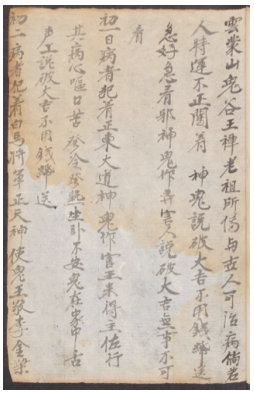


Figure 4 The first page of "The Demon Valley Master's Ways of Treating Illness" in "Formulas Based on Experience"



All three of the manuscripts use similar language to describe bodily conditions, that is, they describe a range of painful feelings of the body in plain everyday language without mentioning any of the formal disease names that one finds in classical medical

works. The symptoms are all described instead in plain terms, such as feeling heavy in the four limbs, experiencing absent-mindedness, feeling fullness in the stomach, having a headache, a cold or hot body, no appetite, thirst, pain all over the body, and mental confusion.

These texts also all introduce the specific location of the demons in domestic space. The "Treatise" and "A Record of Daily Observations," for instance, both reference a shared set of household utensils and domestic locations. The "Formulas Based on Experience" mentions another different, yet similar, set of locations at home such as "behind a door in the home" (*jiazhong men hou* 家中門後), "on a bed in the home" (*jiazhong chuang shang* 家中床上), and "on utensils in the home" (*jiazhong qimin shang* 家中器皿上). All of these phrases share the word "in the home" (*jiazhong* 家中). All of the three manuscripts also use the word "sit" (*zuo* 坐) to describe the posture of demons in these domestic locations. The same term was also used for the fox spirit and the demon in the account from *A Marital Fate to Awaken the World* with which I began this chapter. Locations in the "Treatise" include holes in the walls, the bed, doors, colored clothes, a table, a wooden vessel, an oil lamp, an iron vessel, old shoes, a vessel filled with salt, a bamboo pole, the ancestral hall, etc. It also locates some of these objects in relation to cardinal directions, for example placing them in the north or south. Most of these artifacts could be classified according to the five phases or *wu xing* 五行: namely, *jin* 金 (metal), *mu* 木 (wood), *shui* 水 (water), *huo* 火 (fire), *tu* 土 (earth).

These texts notably provide simple methods to expel demons: no complicated ritual is needed. The "Treatise" describes a variety of methods, such as removing the object, calling out the demon, closing the hole with mud, praying to the demon, shouting out the name of Buddha one hundred times, burning the clothes occupied by the demon, beating the demon with a stick, and performing a sacrifice. "A Record of Daily

Observations" gives the same phrase at the end of each entry: "remove the object to achieve auspiciousness." And "Formulas Based on Experience" uses the same phrase at the end of each entry: "Calling out the demon will be auspicious; no need to send paper money." These rituals do not call for the performance of ritual specialists. They allow people to deal with the demons within their own homes without need to carry out rituals designed to communicate with spirit or ancestors via paper money.

In sum, *fabing* treatises appear in print in popular encyclopedias and almanacs published in the southern provinces of Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu from the late Ming to the late Qing, as well as in commonplace books generated in the northern province of Shandong in the late Qing and early Republican period. These texts present a violent and constant demonic threat to the domestic space that causes a series of bodily symptoms and teach people simple methods to get rid of the invading demon. The variation in manuscripts suggests that people in different places incorporated their repository of demons and rituals into the framework of *fabing* treatise. The basic divination method that connects time, the occurrence of demon and illness, and domestic locations was adapted to suit local customs. The appearance of domestic locations and utensils in manuscripts testifies to their use in the domestic context, since these locations could be easily identified by anyone without the help of a ritual specialist. *Fabing* treatises thus present a body of knowledge about illnesses, demons, and rituals accessible to both specialists and lay people. The inclusion of *fabing* treatises in published daily-use encyclopedias and almanacs played a critical role in the spread of this knowledge beginning in the late Ming.

The Vernacularization of Demon-combating Rituals

Late Ming daily-use encyclopedias and Qing popular almanacs popularized knowledge of a domestic-centered demonic threat. According to Benjamin Elman, the publication of daily-use encyclopedias first peaked in the last decade of the sixteenth

century when private printers in the Southern provinces of Fujian and Jiangsu published such texts in large numbers. These encyclopedias represent an expansion of literati interest from learning Confucian classics for examination to the study of a much wider range of subjects, often referred to as the "investigation of things" (*gewu* 格物). This new term was first articulated in the writings of Southern Song philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), whose interpretation of the Confucian canon became state-sponsored orthodoxy during the Yuan dynasty.[39] At the same time, the flourishing of publishing culture cultivated an increasingly diverse readership including literati, merchants, artisans, and other urban commoners; commercial printers compiled and produced all kinds of cheap booklets and handbooks locally and distributed these texts throughout the empire via their commercial networks. During the Qing, the proliferation of commercial publishing houses and the expansion of distribution networks brought all kinds of cheaply printed texts to more remote places and down the social ladder.[40] Daily-use encyclopedias produced under these circumstances included a broad range of worldly knowledge intended for commoners to use to at home. Medical essays and recipes became part of this popular knowledge. All seven examples of late Ming encyclopedias, printed by either low-end printers or high-end publishers, that contain the "Section on *Fabing*" fall into this category. With the circulation of encyclopedias, the idea of a domestic-centered demonic threat and related divination skills, such as those the "Section on *Fabing*" (*fabing men* 法病門) introduced, and thus became accessible to many social groups.

[39] See Benjamin Elman's discussion of the development of encyclopedias from the Song to the Ming and its relationship to Neo-Confucian thought and the development of private publishing houses in the south. Benjamin Elman, "Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedias (*Leishu*)," *Extreme-Orient, Extreme-Occident* 1.1 (2007): 131-140.

[40] For the Ming and Qing development of publishing culture and the circulation of popular medical texts, see Angela Leung, "Medical instruction and Popularization in Ming-Qing China," *Late Imperial China* 24.1 (2003): 130-152; Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th –17th Centuries)* (Harvard University Press, 2003); Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (University of California Press, 2005); Cynthia Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Period* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

The seven late Ming encyclopedias have similar organization, contain similar materials, and put together all kinds of everyday knowledge and skills. Benjamin Elman has argued that the classification system used in late Ming daily-use encyclopedias differs significantly from the official "four classifications" (*sibu* 四部) system, and represents an alternative knowledge system characterized by the heterogeneity of its content and its ordering of things through names.[41] The inclusion of sections on divination and all kinds of magical tricks not only illustrates this heterogeneity but also signified a growing interest in hands-on skills beyond interest in the names of things. These encyclopedias typically have around forty sections starting from sections on astrology, geography, and calendar, followed by sections on dynasties, bureaucracy, people living in peripheral areas, and Confucian classical texts. The rest of the sections varied from encyclopedia to encyclopedia. Some have sections providing basic knowledge of family rituals, oration, mathematics, and military affairs. Some of them also include a wide range of sections dealing with leisure pastimes, like music, calligraphy, painting, and riddles. In general, chapters at the end of the book introduce divination skills and rituals related to a variety of everyday activities, such as travel, matchmaking, site selection for the construction of a house or tomb, dream interpretation, and choosing auspicious days for particular activities. There are also sections devoted to different divination methods, such as the "Section on Divination" (*bushi men* 卜筮門) and "Section on Numerology" (*shuke men* 數課門). After this wide range of divination and ritual skills, the book usually ends with moral essays and anecdotes. Illness related concerns are treated in several different sections: "Section on Medicine" (*yixue men* 醫學門), "Section on Nourishing Life" *(yangsheng men* 養生門), "Section on Self-cultivation" (*zhenxiu men* 真修門), "Section on Elixirs" (*jindan men* 金丹門), and "Section on Protecting Children" (*huyou men* 護幼

[41] Benjamin Elman, "Collecting and Classifying: Ming Dynasty Compendia and Encyclopedias (*Leishu*)," 140-146.

門 or *baoying men* 保嬰門). Yet, all these sections, as well as the "Section on *Fabing*," appear interspersed among sections on divination, rituals, and games. In many cases, the "Section on *Fabing*" is placed towards the end of the book, where readers could find a rich repertoire of hands-on skills to be used at home.

During the Qing, "The Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness" became a standard and commonly known part of the *Jade Casket* (*Yuxia ji* 玉匣記), a popular almanac title at this time.[42] The major use of the *Jade Casket* almanacs was to provide a guide for ordinary households to determine fortune and misfortune and select a good day for a wide range of everyday tasks, such as building a granary, constructing a kitchen, learning a craft, formalizing an engagement, taking examinations, dividing family property, travelling by boat, moving into a new house, opening a new shop, seeing a doctor, sowing grains and vegetables, making sauces, and even adopting a cat. In the *Supplement to the Daoist Canon* published in 1607, the "*Yuxia ji*" (*Jade Casket*) appeared as an abbreviated title for an assembly of religious and divination texts entitled the "Collection of the Birthdays of Deities and Records from the Jade Casket by Master Xu and Others." This collection has a section of "Master Xu's Records from the Jade Casket," which only includes a set of entries for common people to determine the "auspicious or inauspicious" (*jixiong* 吉凶) of worshipping on a certain day. Beyond this, the collection includes a series of divination texts, some of which can be found in Qing almanacs *Jade Casket*, such as one for determining the meanings of feeling hot on the face and twitching of eyes, but it does not have the "Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness."[43] The theme of determining fortune and misfortune found in this Ming text continued to be prominent in the individually printed Qing *Jade Casket*, which were expanded to encompass an even wider range of everyday concerns

[42] Miura Kunio, "Tsusho gyokukoki shotan," *Jimbun Gakuno* 86.3 (2002): 1-24.
[43] *Xu Daozang*, in *Zhengtong Daozang*, vol. 1105-1110, 1607 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1963).

about fortune and misfortune. The *fabing* treatises were placed at the end of a section devoted to various divination methods based on observation of everyday signs. The preface of the 1864 edition of the *Jade Casket* claims that "rules for avoiding misfortune and seeking luck" (*jixiong yi bi yi qu* 吉凶宜避宜趨) are of "indispensable use for officials, commoners, artisans, and merchants" (*shi shu gong shang suo qieyong* 士庶工商所切用), emphasizing the practical use of these divination methods in daily life.[44]

The *Jade Casket* is one of the varied kinds of popular almanacs (called *tongshu* 通書) compiled and published by Qing commercial printers, who sought to profit from selling cheap reproductions of official calendars and all kinds of non-official almanac books.[45] Private printers usually mixed and matched different texts into all kinds of small booklets and updated their almanacs to meet the needs of their readers. For example, in the 1864 edition of the *Jade Casket*, the commercial printer Erxian Hall published a new edition based on an earlier one printed by a Baoxian Hall, but marked out all the new additions using a black-blocked word "addition" (*zeng* 曾). It added two new charms at the end of the section of "Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness," which suggests that the section was quite popular. Official calendars and popular almanacs were grounded in a shared cosmology, with features including references to Yin and Yang, the five phases, and eight trigrams. Yet popular almanacs sometimes also added additional divination texts that were condemned as heterodox by the state.[46] The

[44] *Xin zengguang Yuxia ji xuanze tongshu* (Zhiya tang, 1864), "Xu".
[45] Beginning in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–222CE), issuing yearly calendar had been considered a symbol of political legitimacy, which established the state's authority as the arbiter of cosmic order and interpreter of even the smallest omens manifesting in commoners' everyday lives. Beginning in the Tang and Song period and down to the Qing, popular almanacs had proliferated. Governments from the Tang to the Qing had labeled private calendars as illegal until the Qing government lifted the ban on the private printing of official calendars in 1751. Huang Yinong, "Tongshu: Zhongguo chuantong tianwen yu shehui de jiaorong," in *Shehui tianwenshi shijiang* (Shanghai: Fudan chubanshe, 2004), 285-286.
[46] I adopt Richard Smith's differentiation between the official calendar and private almanacs on the basis of their different publishing agents. But I see *Jade Casket* as a kind of private almanac book emphasizing divination rather than categorizing it as a calendar. For a discussion of the historical development and features of almanacs, see Richard Smith, *Chinese Almanacs* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 1-33; Richard Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society*, (Boulder: Westview

Qing state's accommodation of popular habits coexisted with its sensitivity to any transgressive messages, especially in cases involving not individuals but the gathering of groups of people.[47] Yet, the state generally regarded the *Jade Casket* editions as conventional household divination handbooks and so did not censor or ban them based on their problematic content.

The Qing state maintained a permissive attitude towards the use of *Jade Casket* even when rebellions of secret societies like the White Lotus raised the state's level of concern over heterodox religion. In *A Conspectus of Judicial Cases* (*Xing'an huilan* 刑案匯覽), an 1825 case from Guizhou presented official clarification that the criminal, who had drawn talismans from the *Jade Casket* to treat illness, was not guilty of the crime of "seducing the populace with heterodox sayings" (*xieyan huozhong* 邪言惑眾), but only intended to use talismans to cheat people out of their money. The *Conspectus* categorizes this case under the subsection of "killing and hurting people by vulgar physicians" (*yongyi shashang ren* 庸醫殺傷人),[48] and states that the *Jade Casket* is a book that was widely used by common people (*minjian xiyong zhi shu* 民間習用之書) and was not banned. The provincial judge thus opted to punish the criminal for using "heterodox

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Press, 1991). Huang estimates that by the 1730s, the number of officially sanctioned and privately printed calendars reached two to three million copies per year. See Huang Yinong, "Tongshu: Zhongguo chuantong tianwen yu shehiu de jiaorong," 285. For an English translation of a 1985 edition of an almanac, see Martin Palmer, *T'ung Shu: the Ancient Chinese Almanac* (Boston: Shambhala Publications,1986).

[47] On the Qing state's concern over "seducing the populace" (*huozhong* 惑眾) in the sections on "producing evil books and sayings" (*zao yaoshu yaoyan* 造妖書妖言) and "prohibiting sorcery and heterodox techniques" (*jinzhi shwui xieshu* 禁止巫師邪術) see *Lingering Doubt after Reading the Substatutes* (*Duli cunyi* 讀例存疑), a comprehensive commentary on the Qing law using real legal cases, published in 1905. See Xue Yunsheng, Huang Jinjia ed., *Duli cunyi chongkanben* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 421-423, 567-568.

[48] Beginning from 1800, healing people using "heterodox techniques" (*yiduan xieshu* 異端邪術) was put under "killing and hurting people by vulgar physicians" (*yongyi shashang ren* 庸醫殺傷人) instead of its original place in "prohibiting sorcery and heterodox techniques." See Xue Yunsheng, Huang Jinjia ed., *Duli cunyi chongkanben*, 869.

rituals and methods" (*yiduan fashu* 異端法術) to treat illness in exchange for money, thereby distancing the case from crimes that challenged the state's political legitimacy.[49]

Unlike ordinary popular almanacs, which usually contained lists organized in columns chronologically telling their readers which activities were auspicious or inauspicious on a specific day like their official counterparts, the *Jade Casket* gathered together divination and calculation methods. In addition to a list of entries for selecting a good day for over 110 mundane matters,[50] they also included a variety of calculation methods related to cardinal directions, four seasons, spirits and deities, twenty-eight lunar lodges, ten stems and twelve braches, personal omens, etc.[51] These almanac calculation methods were always related to specific rituals to improve one's daily life. They laid out the rules for even the most commonplace behaviors in daily life, including even from what direction one should leave the house at a specific moment. They taught people to think of everyday activities in the context of a harmonious cosmic order based on a host of variables, which were manifested in omens and described either as "auspicious or inauspicious" (*jixiong* 吉凶). The cosmic order could be disturbed by misdeeds that violated any one of the corresponding rules and thus offended certain spirits. The interpretation of physical pain as an indicator of unhappy or evil spirits in the *fabing* treatises fits logically within this conception of human activities resonating with cosmic order-disorder within which ritual is necessary to realign the living with spirits in the other world.

Moreover, Qing versions of the *Jade Casket* present a much stronger Daoist overtone than ordinary calendars. The preface writers promoted the all-inclusive *Jade*

[49] Zhu Qingqi, *Xing'an huilan* (1886), *juan* 9. Online source: Beijing ai ru sheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2009.
[50] Some of these entries could also be found in regular popular almanacs under the title "Almanac Selection." See Richard Smith, *Chinese Almanacs* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 15-16.
[51] The popularity of date selection could also be seen in the fierce competition between Halls of Choosing Dates (*zeri tang* 擇日館), which dominated the compilation and publishing of private almanacs and at the same time provided specialized services through a network of masters specialized in divination techniques in southern provinces in the nineteenth century. Chen Jinguo, "Minjian tongshu de liuxing yu fengshui shu de minsuhua," *Taiwan zongjiao yanjiu tongxun* 10.4 (2002): 195-230; Huang Yinong, "Tongshu: Zhongguo chuantong tianwen yu shehiu de jiaorong," 286-307.

Casket of the Qing period as in accordance with all three–Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist–teachings, emphasizing that it "benefits the populace and assists the world" (*yi min ji shi* 宜民濟世) and was "essential to one's family and fortune" (*shenjia xingming zhi qieyao* 身家性命之切要).[52] They dramatized the image of its legendary Jin dynasty Daoist author Xu Xun's 許遜 (239– 374) accomplishment of driving away evil spirits, to strengthen the magical power of the book; they also drew on Xu's image as a benevolent local governor, who was said to "be devoted to saving the world" (*jiushi zhi xin* 救世之心) even after ascending to Heaven for his good deeds. A preface written by Wang Xiang in 1684, which appeared in many Qing editions, summarized and highlighted Master Xu's contributions at its beginning: "Master Xu from Jinyang expelled the demonic dragon to the iron tree and sealed the evil power permanently (*qu nielong yu tieshu yong zhen yao fen* 驅孽龍於鐵樹永鎮妖氛); [he] changed tiles and stones into gold to pay the taxes for the people (*dian wa shi wei huang jin dai chang min shui* 點瓦石為黃金代償民稅)."[53] Here, Master Xu not only fought with demons, but also had a serious concern over the difficulty of the people and used his alchemy techniques to change stones into gold to pay taxes for them. This depiction of Master Xu presents ritual actions and alchemy as a possible solution to common problems encountered by ordinary people in their everyday life. It thus framed the *Jade Casket* as a book embodying magic power and at the same time essential for ordinary households. This image prevailed throughout the Qing. A commercial printer wrote a preface in 1853 to promote his edition of *Jade Casket* as the most reliable divination book. He drew on the same image, using almost identical phrases: "Jinyang (i.e. Master Xu) expelled the dragon using the iron tree, sealing the evil power permanently…" Asserting that Master Xu had sent the secret text from heaven, the author

[52] "Xu," *Zengbu Yuxia ji* (Shanghai: jinzhang shuju, 1919); "Xu," *Huitu zengguang Yuxiaji* (Ertang, 1880).
[53] "Xu," *Zengbu Yuxia ji*, (Shanghai: Jinzhang shuju, 1919).

claimed: "This text came from secret transmission (*de zhi mishou* 得之秘授) and was thus different from other (divination) texts."[54]

The *Jade Casket* thus presents a ritual-oriented way of life comparable to the moral-oriented life style promoted by morality books from the late Ming on. Morality books highlighted Confucian moral norms in a religious context of divine reward and retribution.[55] By contrast, the *Jade Casket* present an alternative set of rituals, critical for domestic stability and prosperity, yet different from family rituals, including most importantly ancestral rituals and marriage rituals, which local elites promoted as important arenas for keeping social order and identity during the Qing.[56] In the context of the *Jade Casket*, the *fabing* treatises actually became a well-publicized source of "secret" knowledge for family use. The knowledge of demons and rituals introduced in these almanacs became part of commonly used divination knowledge and skills in ordinary households. The bodily symptoms described in the *Jade Casket* were among the varied kinds of omens one could observe to determine order and disorder in everyday life.

In 1706, the famous writer Pu Songling finished his manuscript *Book of Drugs and Demons* (*Yao sui shu* 藥祟書), a collection of folk recipes, the original edition of which very likely included some *fabing* treatises.[57] A prolific writer from Shandong, who

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[54] "Xu," *Huitu zengguang Yuxia ji* (Saoye shanfang, 1880).

[55] For studies of elite efforts in compiling and distributing morality books from late Ming to late Qing, see **Sakai** Tadao, *Zōho Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū,* Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1999; Cynthia Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*, Princeton University Press, 1991; You Zi'an, *Quanshan jinzhan: Qing dai shanshu yanjiu*, Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1999; Angela Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming Qing de cishan zuzhu*, Taibei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1997; Tobie Meyer-Fong, *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), chapter 2.

[56] Chow Kai-wing has discussed the rise of Confucian ritualism in scholarly circles in the Jiangnan region during the Qing. See *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[57] One copy of the manuscript was found in a private collection in Shandong in 1984. There is another copy of the manuscript transcribed sometime in the 1920s or 1930s by a Japanese doctor from some private book collector who was committed to preserving Pu Songling's manuscripts. This copy is now held by Keio University in Japan. It seems that the *Yao sui shu* manuscript had never been published during the Qing. The prefaces of Shandong and Japan copies have small variations, but both refer to the *fabing* treatises at the end. However, neither of these copies has the *fabing* treatises. The treatises may have been lost in the transcription process. For the full text of the Shandong copy, see Sheng Wei ed., "Pu Songling *Yao sui shu er'juan chaoben*, *shang*," *Wenxian* 1 (1985): 174-198; Sheng Wei ed., "Pu Songling *Yao sui shu erjuan chaoben*, *xia*," *Wenxian* 2 (1985): 221-235.

spent most of his lifetime serving as an advisor in local government or as a teacher in private homes in his native place, Pu is known today mostly for his collection of ghost stories rather than for his medical recipes. In the book's short preface, Pu Songling pointed out the importance of medical recipe books in ordinary households: "People in rural areas not only could not find any doctor to see them for illness, but also have no money to buy medicine. (I) thus collect folk recipes for the convenience of people in the neighborhood…(I) do not pick those complicated recipes and expensive medicines."[58] At the end of the preface, he envisioned how one could use his book referring explicitly to *fabing* treatises:

> If [one] happens to suffer [from illness], [he could] open the book to look up [solutions], like [entries explaining that] if one falls ill on a certain day, which demon or which evil spirit [is causing the problem], and [whether] to use yellow and white paper money to send it away, and so on (*mou ri bing zhe, he gui he sui, yi huangbaicai song zhi yun er* 某日病者何鬼何祟以黃白才送之云爾).[59]

Some fictional sources also mention the *fabing* treatises in the *Jade Casket* as a common reference for solving health problems. We find such references not only in the passage from *Marital Fate* that began this chapter but also in the mid-eighteenth century masterpiece *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in which a character refers to the *Jade Casket* as a "book of demons" (*suishu* 祟書). In the novel, Granny Liu, an illiterate village woman and a distant relative of Wang Xifeng, visited the Jia family in Nanjing. After a whole day of entertainment in the newly constructed Grand Prospect Garden, Wang Xifeng's little daughter fell ill. Wang told Granny Liu that her little daughter felt heat on her body, blaming the fact that she had been exposed to the wind while eating a cake. As an aged and experienced rustic, Granny Liu reminded her to consult a "book of demons" (*suishu benzi* 祟書本子) in case the little girl had encountered some demon-

[58] 山村之中不惟無處可問醫並無錢可以市藥思集偏方以備鄉鄰之急…不取長方不錄貴藥.
[59] Pu Songling, *Yao sui shu*, transcribed between 1920 and 1940. Manuscript held by the Keio University.

spirit in the garden. Wang then asked her most intimate servant Ping'er to take out the *Jade Casket* and ordered another maid Caiming to read it out loud. Caiming found the right entry and read: "If the illness occurs on the twenty-fifth of August, (the ill person) encounters a flower spirit from the southeast. [One needs to] use (i.e., probably means to burn) forty pieces of five-color paper money and walk forty steps towards the southeast to send it away. Then, all will be auspicious."[60] Wang Xifeng unquestionably got the point. She responded, "Just as I expected, (The demon) in the garden is the flower spirit." She then commanded two servants to take the paper money "to send away the demon" (*songsui* 送祟); one for her daughter and one for Lady Jia who was also said to feel uncomfortable from exposure to wind in the garden. After the simple ritual, Wang's daughter was able to sleep.[61] Thus, in this fictional example, the *Jade Casket*, Wang kept in her household, proved useful in diagnosing and curing the child's illness by first determining the date of illness, "the twenty-fifth of August," and then accordingly identifying the demon responsible, here a flower spirit, and identifying the right ritual to restore the "maligned" person to an auspicious state. Granny Liu was a rustic and comic character, but she proposed a practical solution that Wang, the most astute (even if corrupt) woman in the Jia family, firmly believed. The disorder in the family caused by demons and manifested by Wang's daughter and Lady Jia's illness was restored by practicing the right ritual, not by a specialist, but rather by family members themselves. The ritual is not complex, requiring them only to burn some five-color money paper and walk forty steps towards the southeast; Wang's servants were competent to do the job. As Andrew Schonebaum has shown, readers in the Ming and Qing evidently considered recipes and healing stories in fiction reliable and transcribed them for their own use. That fictional characters modeled the use of a *fabing* treatise to cure illness contributed to the

[60] Based on what I have seen from Ming and Qing examples, the demons in the *fabing* treatises in the *Jade Casket* typically did not include flower spirits. It is very likely that Cao Xueqin introduced the flower spirit to the *Jade Casket* framework. Many female figures in the novel correspond to a specific flower spirit.

[61] Cao Xueqin, *Gengchen chaoben shitou ji* 庚辰抄本石頭記 (*The Manuscript of the Story from the Stone Copied in the Year of Gengchen*), vol. 3., 1760. (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1977), 892-93.

circulation of related ideas about health and medicine, as Schonebaum has persuasively argued.[62] Fiction, like encyclopedias and almanacs, made ideas about illness-causing demons and related divination methods and ritual interventions to deal with them more broadly available.

Circulated in vernacular texts, like encyclopedias, almanacs, and fiction, *fabing* treatises became a shared knowledge between ritual experts and common people who transcribed the treatises for their own use. Evidence of this could be found in the form of manuscripts. A group of late Qing and early Republican manuscripts held in Berlin revealed the diverse social background of people who used the *fabing* treatises. The "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" (Slg. 8554), for example, is an itinerant doctor's personal handbook dealing exclusively with domestic demons, whereas the "Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness" (Slg. 8406) only records simple divination methods, spells, and amulets. "Formulas Based on Experience" (Slg. 8563) is a commonplace book that records a wide range of folk healing recipes as well as *fabing* treatises. "A Record of Daily Observations" (Slg. 8184) contains a variety of everyday practical knowledge such as spells, model orations, poems, and moral essays.[63] Both "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" and "A Record of Daily Observations" originated in the eastern part of what is now Shandong Province. Though lacking information on where their authors obtained the *fabing* treatises upon which they based their manuscripts, we at least know that printed encyclopedias, almanacs, and fiction had by this time made these types of *fabing* texts widely available.

The seals and inscriptions on the cover page show that the "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment" (Slg. 8554) was created by a person named Liu Sikong. Liu carefully transcribed the texts and created an illustration for each entry. On the two

[62] Andrew Schonebaum has argued that fiction served as an important source for medical knowledge for their readers in the Ming and Qing. Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China* (University of Washington Press, 2016).

[63] For example, the author transcribed an essay titled "Advice to the world" (*quanshi ci* 勸世辭) written by a Great Man Liu (Liu *daren* 劉大人), which advises people to do good deeds and observe moral rules and advocates the idea of reward and retribution. See *Duo jian er zhi zhi*, 39-40. Slg. Unschuld 8184.

cover pages of the manuscript, there are four seals reading Liu Sikong (劉思孔). (See Figures 5 and 6, three are on the second cover, one on the first). The characters "transcribe" (*lu* 錄) and "annotated with illustrations" (*tuzhu* 圖注) indicates that the author got the texts from other places and added his own illustrations, which suggests that he was quite well acquainted with what the texts meant and how such materials should be used. On the second cover page, he wrote "selected entries annotated fully with illustrations" (*xuan quan tuzhu* 選全圖注). This might mean that he was aware of the variations of the *fabing* treatises. The manuscript contains many other clues showing that Liu was transcribing the texts from other books. For instance, he mistook the word "claim" (*hou* 吼) for "hole" (*kong* 孔) in one entry but not in other similar sentences.[64] The manuscript remains in very good condition, and thus it seems that it was not used for daily reference.[65] The author also does not appear to have finished his project, leaving six blank pages at the end.

Figure 5 Second of two cover pages of "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment"

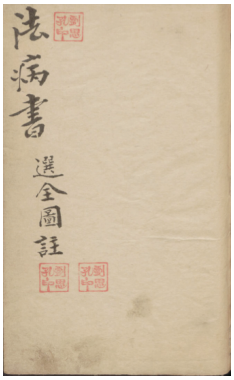
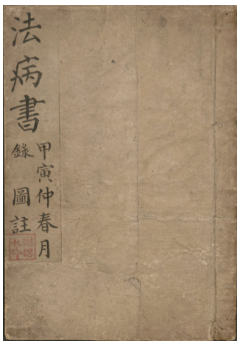


Figure 6 First of two cover pages of "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment"

[64] *Fabing shu*, 25. Slg. Unschuld, 8554

[65] It is hard to determine whether the author intended to keep the manuscript as a private treasure or to circulate to a wider audience. The words "selected entries annotated fully with illustrations" on the cover page suggest that the author probably intended to create a formal text as his personal achievement. He might have wanted to keep it private, or planed to distribute it for profit or for merit. At the end of another *fabing* treatise manuscript (Slg. Unschuld. 8794) from Taiwan and dated 1963, the author wrote: "Please give to other people upon request. This is for the benefit of others. Please preserve it well after use." This suggests that similar texts were meant to be circulated and preserved to benefit others and in turn accumulate merit in the mid-twentieth century.



The illustrations of demons suggest that Liu Sikong might be a ritual specialist. The "Treatise" is the only *fabing* treatise among my sources that provides pictures of the demons: other materials either have drawings only of amulets and charms or have no illustrations at all. Two recent interviews suggest that people believe illustrations drawn by ritual specialists like these have the power to combat demons.[66] An illiterate middle-aged couple from Shandong (in the market in Chengdu, Sichuan) recognized the figures as demons and told an interviewer that they had seen similar illustrations in manuscripts decades ago. They said that when people fell sick, they went to "temples" (*miaoli* 庙里) to ask specialists to paint the pictures which would be taken home and attached to walls or doors. A Daoist priest at Qingyang temple in Chengdu said that this method was used by "at-home Daoist masters" (*huoju daoshi* 火居道士),[67] and that only experienced masters with strong power could draw such images. Some of the very early Dunhuang manuscripts in the *fabing* treatise genre provide a term for the function of these

[66] These interviews were done by Feng Jiamin at my request in Qingyang Temple and in a vegetable market in Chengdu in September 2014. As memory is not always reliable, further clues need to be found. But this oral evidence is nonetheless suggestive.
[67] The term "*huoju daoshi*" usually refers to those Daoist masters who live at home rather than in temples. See Hu Fuchen eds., *Zhonghua Daojiao dacidian* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), 498.

illustrations: namely that the pictures "defeat" (*yan* 厭) the demons.[68] The term "defeat" is usually used in comparable Daoist ritual that uses talismans to combat evil spirits.[69]

A recent interview done by Wang Qingshan of the Local Gazetteer and History Office in Zouping County in Shandong,[70] suggests Liu Sikong might have been a doctor or a ritual specialist from what is now Zouping County, and who was probably active in the mid-nineteenth century. A local legend in Zouping County, which circulated at least from the early twentieth century on, tells of some strangers from the north who came to the village to find a mythical doctor named Liu Sikong, whom they claimed had cured their illnesses. But the villagers told the strangers that the doctor had died hundreds of years ago.[71] It is unclear when those strangers came to Zouping, or even whether the saying "hundreds of years ago" might be an exaggerated expression. Ambiguity is characteristic of memory and oral transmission, as well as stories that mythologize local figures. Yet, nonetheless there is a very simple and almost ruined tomb of a person named Liu Sikong in Zouping today. Wang Qingshan's recent interview shows that this Liu Sikong might have been born around the 1820s. The "Treatise" was thus quite possibly written by this Liu Sikong, as many utensil names in the book were those particular to the Shandong dialect. The appearance of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian dialect in the manuscript may have resulted from earlier circulation of the source texts used originally by this Liu Sikong of Zouping, Shandong.[72] Among the source texts may

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[68] One fragmentary piece of the *fabing* treatises from Dunhuang has an illustration of demon under the corresponding charm. See Dunhuang manuscript, Or. 8210/ S. 6216 Recto.

[69] Liu Yongming, "Dunhuang Daojiao de shisuhua shilu: Dunhuang fabing shu yanjiu," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 1 (2006): 82.

[70] Wang Qingshan did the interview independently on the 15th of January 2015 after I contacted him and several other persons in the village to ask about Liu Sikong. He interviewed two persons in their eighties, Hu Xiangbing and Yang Yucheng, who said they heard the story from elders when they were young. Hu Xiangbing is the person who reported this story to a local newspaper in January 2014. For the news report, see http://dzrb.dzwww.com/qlwh/wsfx/201402/t20140210_9623901_2.htm.

[71] This legend is recorded in a collection of local stories from Zouping. See Zhao Chenhong ed., *Zouping minjian gushi yu chuanshuo* (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 2008), 9-11. Tobie Meyer-Fong has met a contemporary spirit medium in eastern Zhejiang, who uses the name of a deceased physician to treat illnesses, especially those caused by brushes with the underworld. It is likely that some spirit medium outside Zouping used Liu Sikong's name to treat people.

[72] There are dialect phrases from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian such as *beitou* 被頭, *xizhu* □□, *jiatang* 家堂, *juezi* □□, and from Shandong like *juezi* □□ and *hulutou* 葫蘆頭, which refer to different kinds of

have been cures gathered by other itinerant doctors or ritual specialists. Itinerant doctors traveled from place to place and often used folk ritual to cure disease.[73] They were in competition with licensed Daoist priests dwelling in temples,[74] as well as monks who also sold medicine.[75] It is thus not surprising to find two entries in the "Treatise" that depict demons as a "Daoist priest" (*daoshi* 道士) and as a "Buddhist monk" (*sengren* 僧人)[76] (See Appendix, Figure 83 and 84).

The late Tang *fabing* treatise manuscripts from Dunhuang allow us to see some textual precedents for the Ming-Qing texts. Several scholars from China have introduced these manuscripts, but none of them connected this earlier evidence to any texts from later periods.[77] Among the many fragmentary Dunhuang manuscripts, the "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness" (P. 2856, *fabing shu* 發病書, Figure 7) is a relatively intact one.[78] Its author transcribed a set of entries on divination based on the time when the illness occurs. At the end of the manuscript, the author wrote down the title of all the texts as

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utensils/household utensils, artifacts, and locations. Four uncommon surnames Shen 参, Xuan 轩, Lian 连, and Zong 宗 might serve as further clues for the circulation of the treatises. Xu Baohua and Miyata Ichirō eds., *Hanyu fangyan dacidian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999).

[73] See for example a handbook of an itinerant doctor from Chengdu, dated 1881. *Chengdu lingyi shu*. Slg. Unschuld 8555.

[74] I follow Vincent Goossaert's translation of *huoju* as "at-home," as to distinguish from licensed Daoist priests who primarily resided in temples. Goossaert discusses the Daoist clerical hierarchy in Jiangnan from 1850 to 1950. He lists at home Daoist masters (*huoju daoshi*) and diviners (陰陽生) as two types of vernacular specialists, in contrast to licensed Daoist clerics. See Vincent Goossaert, "A Question of Control: Licensing Local Specialists in Jiangnan, 1850-1950," in *Belief, Practice and Cultural Adaption: Papers from the Religion Section of the Fourth International Conference on Sinology*, eds., Paul R Katz and Shufen Liu (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan, 2013), 569-604.

[75] For an example of temple as a site of medical authority, see Yi-Li Wu's study on monks who claimed to have secret recipes for women's illnesses in the Qing. Yi-Li Wu, "The Bamboo Grove Monastery and Popular Gynecology in Qing China," *Late Imperial China* 21.1 (2000): 41-76.

[76] Other human figures with a clear social identity rendered as demons are the "beautiful woman" (*meinü* 美女, *jiaonü* 驕女) and "filial son" (*xiaozi* 孝子).

[77] Chinese scholars have called these texts "Treatise on the occurrence of illness" based on a title name, which appears at the end of the manuscript P. 2856. Huang Zhengjian did a brief survey of all the related texts. Liu Yongming provides a detailed analysis on the Daoist influence on the Dunhuang divination texts. See Huang Zhengjian, *Dunhuang zhanbu wenshu yu Tang Wudai zhanbu yanjiu* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2001); Liu Yongming, "Dunhuang zhanbu yu Daojiao chutan: yi P. 2856 wenshu wei zhongxin."

[78] For the Dunhuang manuscript P. 2859, see an online version http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=8445241066;recnum=60038;index=5

"Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness" (*fabing shu* 發病書).[79] This name might have been lost in later transmissions of this text, and related texts acquired new titles in circulation, as we have seen in the late Ming, late Qing, and early Republican texts. Most relevant for this chapter, the fourth section titled, "The Method to Calculate the Demons According to the Date When the Illness First Occurs," (*tui chu debing ri gui fa* 推初得病日鬼法), has content similar to that found in the later Ming and Qing texts. (Figure 8). They share, for example, a very similar sentence structure. Following the drawn image of a talisman, the sentence structure is as follows:

> A 日病者, 鬼名 BB, (BB 什么样子), 使人(CC), 以其形厌之即去.
>
> If the illness occurs on the day of A, the name of the demon is BB, (a description of the appearance of BB), it makes the person feel CC, so present its image to defeat it.

Figure 7 The beginning part of "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness"

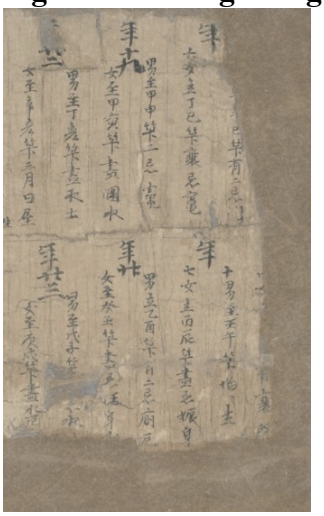
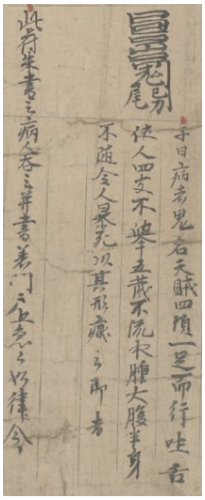


Figure 8 A complete entry in "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness"

[79] This manuscript seems to have been kept in a temple. It was amended thirty years after its creation with some fragmentary paper pieces with some daily routine records of a temple. See the records and year on the back of the manuscript, P. 2859
http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=8445241066;recnum=60038;index=5



This Dunhuang manuscript not only uses a sentence structure similar to the "Treatise," it also advises the reader (probably a ritual specialist) to use the image of the demon to combat the demon. At the end of each entry, an instruction reads: "present its image to defeat it." Studies on the Dunhuang Daoist tradition have mainly regarded related ritual practice as the specialized knowledge of diviners.[80] Although this manuscript does not contain any images of the demons, evidence from another fragmentary Dunhuang *fabing* treatise shows that the treatises were meant to be used together with drawings of the demons. In addition to a spell, this single piece provides an

[80] Liu Yongming argues that these Dunhuang divination texts reflect Daoist priests' effort to integrate popular divination methods into their increasingly vernacular practice. Liu Yongming mentions in his article that one essay for domestic rituals (*zhenzhai wen* 鎮宅文) from Dunhuang shows that it was the diviner (*yinyang shi* 陰陽師) who dominated many Daoist rituals, and they had illustrations of a hundred prodigies (*baiguai tu* 百怪圖).[80] This means that both the illustrations of a hundred demons and the calendar for divination, which greatly influenced the formation of the *fabing* treatises, were part of the repository of diviners. It is interesting to note this close connection between guarding one's home and knowledge of hundreds of prodigies also can be found in the late Ming encyclopedias. Liu Yongming, "Dunhuang Daojiao de shisuhua shilu: Dunhuang fabing shu yanjiu," *Journal of Dunhuang Studies* 1 (2006): 69-86. Another Dunhuang Daoist divination manuscript, which has been given the name "Illustrations of Spirits and Demons by *Baize*" (*Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖, P. 2682) by contemporary scholars, has an illustration of the shape of demon. Although many scholars have claimed that this manuscript is the lost ancient "Illustrations by *Baize*" (*Baize tu* 白澤圖), a close investigation of the physical condition of the original manuscript by a Japanese scholar reveals that the inscription, "Illustration of spirit and demons by *baize*" at the end of the manuscript was actually added by a later collector around the ninth century. Sasaki Satoshi, "Research on Original Dunhuang Manuscript *Baize-jinguai-tu* (P. 2682) Kept at the National Library of France," *Dunhuang Research* 133.3 (2012): 73-81. For other studies on *Baize tu*, see Sun Wenqi, "*Baize tu yu gu zhiguai xiaoshuo yuanyuan*," *Ha'erbin xuebao* 10 (2007): 75–78. It is noteworthy that the manuscript gives colored illustration of demons, and some of the entries and illustrations present demons entering a home. Here the demon appears to be flying and takes up the entire room. Another scholar even argues that the *Illustration by Baize*, which was lost after the Song, was in fact seen by Daoist priests as carrying magic power at least as early as the Eastern Jin period (around fourth and fifth century). See Zhou Xibo, "Baize tu yanjiu," in *Zhongguo suwenhua yanjiu*, ed. Xiang Chu (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003), 166-175.

illustration of a naked four-headed demon standing tall on muscular legs. (Figure 9). The instruction explicitly states: "present its [the demon's] image to defeat it for great auspiciousness" (*yi qi xing yan zhi da ji* 以其形厭之大吉). This textual evidence from Dunhuang supports the conclusion from the recent interviews, that drawing an image of the demon is a skill of ritual specialists to exorcize the demons. Containing carefully drawn illustrations of demons, the late Qing "Treatise" provides a rare extant example showing this specialized skill. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the "Treatise" actually describes a different set of methods as well to combat the demon, such as removing the object on which the demon sits and calling out the demon's name, which could be carried out by lay people.

Figure 9 A fragmental piece of Dunhuang *fabing* manuscript[81]

The other two late Qing and early Republican commonplace books provide evidence for the use of these treatises by lay people. "Formulas Based on Experience" (Slg. 8563) is a medical notebook that a person named Zhang Mingshi 張明世 initially created. (Figure 10). On two occasions he wrote "Zhang recorded" (Figure 11) and

[81] Or. 8210/ S. 6216 Recto

"Zhang Mingshi recorded" (Figure 12).[82] The original author records pharmaceutical recipes (134 different ones), several passages on Daoist methods of practicing inner alchemy, and simple medical case histories at different places in this manuscript. He apparently had a certain level of medical knowledge, because he notes that some of the recipes have been "tested" (*yanguo* 驗過). The new red slip on the manuscript's cover, listing the sub-titles of its contents, however, was probably added by a later collector.

Figure 10 Cover page of "Formulas Based on Experience"

Figure 11 On cover page of "Formulas Based on Experience"- "Zhang recorded" (*Zhang ji*)

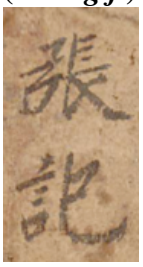
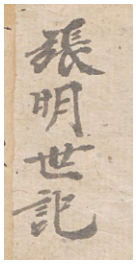


Figure 12 On page 72 of "Formulas Based on Experience"- "Zhang Mingshi recorded" (*Zhang Mingshi ji*)



[82] The characters 張明世 on page 72 are similar to the characters of 張記 on the cover page. They were written at different times, when the writer recorded different parts of the notebook, but are by the same hand.

"A Record of Daily Observations" (Slg. 8184) appears to be a commonplace book written by a lower-level degree candidate from Shandong. (Figure 13). Its contents are heterogeneous, including notes about the *Book of Odes*, *fabing* treatises, passages on a method of finding lost items according to the eight trigrams, spells, model orations to be used for a funeral, descriptions of rituals to combat illnesses, prayers for rain, terms for relatives, and poems. The author might have been a degree candidate from Deng County in Shandong since in several instances the text refers to this location. For example, a model oration for rewarding deities for protecting a person from illness refers to Deng Prefecture (Dengjun 登郡).[83] The manuscript also records a poem written by a person with the surname Xu written in Deng County.[84] Several poems also describe the author's travels to the Dengzhou prefectural seat to attend an exam. He also recorded several poems about the civil service examinations, some of which express nonchalance about fame and position and also his helpless feelings as a failed candidate. The inclusion of an essay by an official advising local people to perform good deeds rather than believing in divination and worship also suggest a preoccupation with his social position at the margins of officialdom. The inclusion of model orations, spells, and demon-repelling cures suggests that having not yet successfully acquired the credentials for an official career, he may have sought to make a living as a religious specialist and thus collected some ritual texts.

Figure 13 Cover page of "A Record of Daily Observations"

[83] *Duo jian er zhi zhi*, 24.
[84] Ibid., 35.

None of the *fabing* treatises in the above two manuscripts has charms or illustrations. While it is hard to tell whether the talismans in Ming-Qing encyclopedias and almanacs were actually meant to be copied by lay people, the *fabing* texts provide instructions for specific acts to defeat demons that ordinary readers could carry out directly, such as sending away a demon with white or yellow paper. The text itself lays out a complete solution from identifying the origin of the illness to methods to relieve it. Late-Ming and Qing encyclopedias and almanacs brought *fabing* treatises into ordinary households as a convenient guide for commoners to use in daily life. One could just consult the comprehensive handbooks kept in their home when needed or they could transcribe what they considered to be the most useful content from these printed books into their commonplace books, like in the cases discussed above. Ritual experts and commoners thus shared a set of texts containing practical advice on how to combat illness-causing demons. Though the experts might have more skills, like drawing pictures and talismans imbued with magical power to exorcise demons, commoners also had access to many other methods to defeat these same demons themselves.

Imagining Illness at Home

As we saw in the previous section, encyclopedias and almanacs were important sources for domestic ritual practices. To help solve everyday problems at home, handbooks like encyclopedias and almanacs included information about demons, rituals,

and methods to determine the implication of even the most trivial symptoms, whether on an individual body or in a domestic space. They incorporated the *fabing* treatises, previously the specialized knowledge of diviners, into an everyday knowledge system that highlights the significance of vernacular time and the physical reality of domestic space. The *fabing* treatises linked sites and objects in the domestic setting to illness-causing demonic threats, thereby presenting the domestic space as a central locale for both the cause and ritual treatment of illness.

The "Section on *Fabing*" in late Ming encyclopedias, for instance, presents the home as a physical site where a variety of supernatural beings commonly might be expected to appear. In this section, a "Treatise on a Hundred Prodigies with [Suppressing] Rituals" (*baiguai shu fa* 百怪書法) appears in the lower register under the *fabing* treatise "Heavenly Mater Zhang's Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment with Talismans and Rituals for Righteous Justice." In some encyclopedias published relatively later in the early sixteenth century, this title was rendered into the "Treatise on a Hundred Kinds of Illnesses with [Healing] Rituals" (*baibing shufa* 百病書法),[85] suggesting a close relationship between the occurrence of prodigies and that of the illnesses. The treatise lists and then interprets many strange creatures and events that could trouble one's home. (Figure 14). These demons include "ancestral spirits" (*jiaqin* 家親), "deities" (*shen* 神), "demons" (*gui* 鬼), and all kinds of "prodigies" (*guai* 怪).

Figure 14 A page of the "Section on *Fabing*" showing the *fabing* treatises (upper register) and the "Treatise on a Hundred Prodigies with [Suppressing] Rituals" in a Ming encyclopedia (lower regster)[86]

[85] See for example, *Xinqie quanbu shimin beilan bianyong wenlin huijin wanshu yuanhai*, ed., Xu Qilong, 1610, Reprinted in *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan*, vol. 10, 217.
[86] *Xinqie quanbu tianxia simin liyong bianguan wuche bajin*, first printed in 1597. Reprinted in *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan*, vol. 7, 628.

The "Treatise on a Hundred Prodigies with [Suppressing] Rituals" starts with a list of animal prodigies arranged according to the date of their appearance. The dates are given according to the stems. For example, on a *mao* day, if one sees a snake spirit, then someone in the family will fall ill, and if one hears hens cluck, it means someone will arrive from afar. Following this list, it gives a list of signs associated with the physical construction of a house or boat. It explains for instance that if flying ants suddenly appear on the beams in the home, the elders in the family will die; if purple and white smoke suddenly arises and lingers around in the house, the family will have a son in one hundred and ten days; if one suddenly sees curl-shaped water flow in the front part of the courtyard, someone in the family will die. Then, there is a list of strange things related to bedding and clothes, such as if the bed curtain suddenly falls, specific types of negative changes will happen. After these strange occurrences, there are lists of prodigies related to furniture, domestic and wild animals, rustling mice, birds, snakes and spiders, tortoises, all kinds of sounds made by people in the family, abnormal winds, bloody stains on objects, trees, flowers, and silkworms in and around the house. At the end, a short instruction states that if one "takes these strange things as un-strange, then they will disappear of their own accord" (*jian guai mo guai qi guai zi xiao* 見怪莫怪其怪自消).

Alternatively, the whole family could worship deities by placing offerings of incense and clean water at the door late at night and then draw a small talisman for the

person who saw the strange thing to carry with them and a large talisman to attach at the location of the strange thing. Three days after this, it instructs, one just needs to place the talismans in a bowl of clean water and pour the water into running water, and then everything will return to an auspicious state. The publisher provided model talismans at the end of the lower register under the title "Talismans and Rituals for Suppressing the Prodigies" (*zhen zhuguai fu fa* 鎮諸怪符法); each talisman repels a particular type of prodigy. (Figure 15).

Figure 15 A page showing the "Talismans and Rituals for Suppressing the Prodigies" after the "Treatise on a Hundred Prodigies with [Suppressing] Rituals" in a Ming encyclopedia[87]

The "Section on *Fabing*" also places illness as a central concern in domestic spaces under demonic threat. Illness was not only one of the consequences of seeing a strange thing at home; it was also the primary reason for divination. In addition to the two works the "Heavenly Master Zhang's Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment with Talismans and Rituals for Righteous Justice" and the "Treatise on a Hundred Prodigies with [Suppressing] Rituals," which occupy a large portion of the upper and lower registers, almost all the other divination methods are related to illness. These entries are short, informing whether or not the health condition will worsen or whether the person will die or recover. The estimate was made based on either the day one fell ill or the year one was born according to the natal astrological method. Though these entries

[87] Ibid., 633.

do not always fit perfectly with the standard model we established from late Qing manuscripts, they are clearly closely related to the *fabing* treatises.[88] For example, a set of five entries entitled "The Auspiciousness and Inauspiciousness of Illness According to the Celestial Stems" (*Zhu ri tiangan debing jixiong* 逐日天干得病吉凶) provided the surname and given name of the demon responsible for illness on a specific day, which is similar to those in the late Qing manuscript "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment."[89]

In the "Treatise," the illness-causing demons appear on a specific day at a specific location in the domestic space. The late-Ming and late-Qing encyclopedias used more varied words to describe the possible locations of demon, but like the "Treatise," they also commonly use the verb "sit" (*zuo* 坐) to explain where the demons were located. Moreover, the description of how demons appear in the late Qing texts visualized the demonic threat in a colorful and animated way, as we see in the episode about Chao Yuan from *Marital Fate* with which I began this chapter. About one third of its entries described demons as human figures, most of them with unnatural features, like a human figure with three eyes and one foot or one with a green face and red hair. Seven of them identify the demons with socially identifiable types: three beautiful women, two filial sons, one Daoist master, and one monk. About half of the entries describe demons as animals; six of them are terrifying beasts that reputedly ate people; others are ordinary animals, like insects, water animals, birds, dragon, apes, etc. The remaining are two objects – one stone roller and one wheel – and one demon even looks like an "evil door god" (*sangmen shen* 喪門神). The demons are depicted as walking strangely, crying aloud, laughing, looking for people to eat, turning around in an unstable manner, or holding something like a stone or a bow as weapons. While the appearance of these

[88] Some of these divination entries are similar to those in the Dunhuang manuscript "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness."
[89] See an example of these entries in *Xinqie quanbu tianxia simin liyong bianguan wuche bajin*, in *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan*, vol. 7, 632.

demons is always scary, most of them are just aimlessly wandering around on their own. But some of them are explicitly and intentionally seeking to attack people.[90]

Several descriptions of demons show a demon's violent acts towards living people. Some demons "open (their) mouth widely and look for people" (*zhangkou xunren* 張口尋人); one demon "with eyes open widely seeks to drink human blood" (*zhengyan zhangkou yao chi renxue* 睜眼張口要吃人血); another demon "holds an axe and seeks to slash whichever people he encounters" (*shou zhi dafu feng ren yu kan* 手執大斧逢人欲砍); there is also one demon who "looks for human brains to eat" (*yao rennaozi chi* 要人腦子吃).[91] The sense of imminent violence could also be seen in an additional entry besides the regular entries on demons occurring on a certain day. At the end of the "Treatise," we find a demon with the name "King Ba" (Wang Ba 王霸) represented with a colored illustration of similar style to the previous ones, but described using a different sentence structure. (Figure 16). This demon can appear at any time and poses a fatal threat to people who encounter it. He is described as follows: "It eats people's souls. The person (who encounters it) is sure to die." An additional line notes: "This demon seldom goes outside of its home. If he goes out and meets someone, the person must lose his life."[92] Like the other demons, Wang Ba poses a nonnegotiable threat to the living people.

Figure 16 Image of "Wang Ba" in the "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment"

[90] The Ming encyclopedias featured different kinds of demons. We could also find this variety in late Qing and early Republican manuscripts.
[91] *Fabing shu*. Slg. Unschuld, 8554.
[92] Ibid., 69.

The occurrence of demons in the home causes bodily symptoms. Without any attempt to theorize the symptoms, the various versions of the *fabing* treatises simply describe bodily conditions and feelings in a way that conforms to the language of even the relatively uneducated. It provides either a single or several mutually unrelated bodily or mental symptoms. Take the "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment," for example, the most frequently used word is "feeling pain" (*tong* 痛 or *teng* 疼). The demons cause people to feel pain "all over the body" (*quanshen* 身體 or *bianshen* 遍身), in the "four limbs" (*sizhi* 四肢), in the "heart and abdomen" (*xinfu* 心腹), in "hands and feet" (*shouzu* 手足), on the "back" (*shenbei* 身背), and on the "head" (*tou* 頭). The next regularly cited symptom is a feeling of "heaviness" (*chenzhong* 沈重) on the "body" (*shenti* 身體) or in the "four limbs" (*sizhi* 四肢). In many cases, the text refers to the feeling of "heat in the head" (*toure* 頭熱), or gives a range of possible phrases meaning "flashes of cold or heat" (*hanre buzhi* 寒熱不止, *hanre ju fa* 寒熱俱發, *huhan hure* 乎寒忽熱, *hanre buding* 寒熱不定, *zaore wuhan* 燥熱無汗, *fahan chaore* 發汗潮熱). The text also lists a series of mental symptoms, such as several phrases meaning

"absentmindedness" (*huanghu buding* 恍惚不定, *hunpo huanghu* 魂魄恍惚, *xinshen huanghu* 心神恍惚, *menghun diandao* 夢魂顛倒, *toumen xinluan* 頭悶心亂), or "talking nonsense" (*huyan luanyu* 胡言亂語), and "forgetting what is happening and the past" (*shiqian shihou* 失前失後).

Other specific symptoms include: "loss of appetite" (*bu si yinshi* 不思飲食), "feeling fullness and distension in the abdomen" (*xinfu zhangbao* 心腹脹飽), "vomiting upwards and having diarrhea downwards" (*shangtu xiaxie* 上吐下瀉), "vomiting endlessly" (*outu buzhi* 嘔吐不止), "restless sleep" (*shuimeng jingjue* 睡夢驚覺), "having strange dreams" (*ye duo guaimeng* 夜多怪夢), "fright" (*jingpa* 驚怕), "excessive sleep" (*chang shui bu xing* 長睡不醒), "feeling thirsty and distension in the tongue" (*kougan shezhang* 口乾舌脹), "redness in the cheeks" (*sai hong* 腮紅), "feeling bitterness in the mouth and losing one's sense of taste" (*kouku wuwei* 口苦無味), and having a "dry nose" (*bigan* 鼻乾). Usually, only one to three symptoms were listed in one entry. If the patient could identify any one of these symptoms as his or her own, then the next step was to find out where the demon might be located in the patient's home.

Whereas Dunhuang manuscripts did not present a spatial conception of the home regarding the demon's location, many of the texts from the late Ming through the early Republican period texts specified a domestic location. Locations and utensils at home provide a spatial guide to identify the demon responsible for the symptoms. In the "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment," for instance, demons "sit" (*zuo* 坐) at the most commonly seen, used, and visited artifacts, furniture, utensils, and locations in the home. They could be found on utensils including a water container, a salt container,

an oil lamp, a basket, an incense burner, a mirror, a broom, or utensils made from earth and fur, wood, iron, porcelain, stone, or bamboo. Holes, poles, and cracks on the wall are good places for them to hide. Sometimes, they hang from a wall with their head upside down. They could also sit on a bed, a pair of broken shoes, a bottle gourd, or a cloth or object with a specific kind of color. The text also places the demons in relation to the cardinal directions (north or south, east or west) or in specific locations (on the windowsill, behind the door, in the yard, or in the ancestral hall). The demons' appearance at these domestic locations actually suggests not only a threat to the general domestic order, which in turn produces symptoms in the people in the house, but also a threat to some specific benign, benevolent, and thus good house spirits. For example, several entries mention that the demon threatens "family ancestors" (*jiaqin* 家親), the "Stove God" (*zaoshen* 皂神), the "Door God" (*menschen* 門神), or the "six spirits/gods" (*liushen* 六神) of the house, causing these spirits and gods to feel frightened and abandon their original place, thereby leaving the domestic space further exposed to demonic threats.

The centrality of domestic space in the imagination of illness in the *fabing* treatises differentiated them as well from texts on demonic medicine included in the writings of medicine of systematic correspondence. During the Ming and Qing, many well-known literati physicians had sections on demonic medicine in their works.[93] For example, the *Classified Case Records from Famous Physicians* (*Mingyi lei'an* 名醫類案), compiled by Jiang Guan (1503–1565) and first published in 1591, has a section on illnesses caused by "evil spirits and demons" (*xiesui* 邪祟).[94] Literati physicians strove to incorporate demonic medicine into the framework of the medicine of systematic correspondence in their explanation of the cause of the illnesses, arguing that it is the

[93] Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*, 216-223.
[94] Jiang Guan, *Mingyi lei an* (1591), *juan* 8, in *Siku quanshu zhenben liu ji*, vol. 193 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1976), 71-73.

deficiency of the human body that makes the intrusion of evil spirits possible.[95] However, they usually set a very unusual spatial location for demons outside of households, such as temples, tombs, forests, and other peripheral locations. The domestic setting as a locale into which demons intruded was missing in these texts. The encounter with these demons was also always portrayed as an unusual one, and not an everyday occurrence. Unlike these medical texts, the *fabing* treatises never explicitly claimed that demons could intrude into the human body to cause illness. Rather their existence was understood as a routine, albeit distressing or damaging, daily presence in the domestic space.[96] As the origin of illness lies in the disrupted domestic order, the way to relieve symptoms was to restore the domestic order. This was done by determining the right time and responding with the appropriate ritual to defeat the demon domestically.

In the Ming encyclopedias and Qing almanacs, the demon-defeating methods introduced in the *fabing* treatises and the related divination entries to achieve auspiciousness seem somewhat peaceful, requiring the person just to call the name of the demon or use paper money to send away the demon. Yet more violent measures were also introduced, that is "to suppress" (*zhen* 鎮) the strange. In the Ming encyclopedias the "Heavenly Master Zhang's Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment with Talismans and Rituals for Righteous Justice" and "Talismans and Rituals for Suppressing the Prodigies" (*zhen zhu guai fu fa* 鎮諸怪符法) were arranged in a parallel manner, indicating that they are thematically related entries. (Figure 14). In the Qing *Jade Casket*, the "Talismans and Rituals for Suppressing the Prodigies" were listed immediately after the "Heavenly Master Zhang's Talismans and Rituals to Ward off Illness" (Figure 18).

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[95] Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*, 195-223; Li Jianmin, "Suibing yu changsuo: chuantong yixue dui suibing de yizhong jieshi," *Hanxue yanjiu* 12.1 (1994): 101-48; Chen Xiufen, "Dang bingren yudao gui: shilun Ming Qing yizhe duiyu xiesui de taidu," *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 30 (2008): 43-85.

[96] Lin Fu-shih's paper on a medical encyclopedia in the Northern Song mentions some very similar entries. See Lin Fu-shih, "Zhuyou yixue yu Daojiao de guanxi: yi *Shengji zonglu fujin men* wei zhu de tantao," in *Belief, Practice and Cultural Adaption: Papers from the Religion Section the Fourth International Conference on Sinology,* eds. Paul R Katz and Shufen Liu (Taibei: zhongyang janjiu yuan, 2013), 404-448.

Moreover, these two parts have the same spell at the beginning that one should recite when drawing the talismans. The incantation calls upon the violent power of the "Heavenly Marshal Tianpeng" (*Tianpeng lishi* 天蓬力士) "to conquer" (*xiangfu* 降伏) the "demon and the monster" (*yaoguai* 妖怪). Under the talismans in both of these two sections, there were instructions specifying either to attach the talisman to the door or on the walls in the kitchen, or secure it on the human body.[97] (Figure 17 and Figure 18). These talismans and instructions allowed commoners to suppress the demon within their households.

Figure 17 A page of the *fabing* treatises in *Huitu zengguang Yuxia ji* [98]

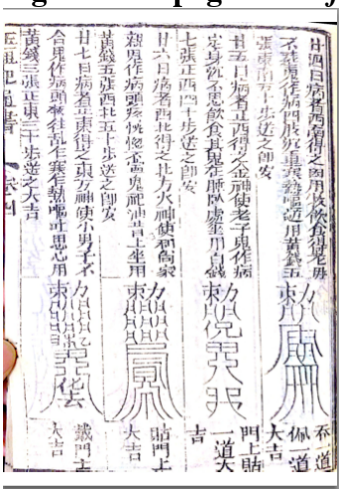
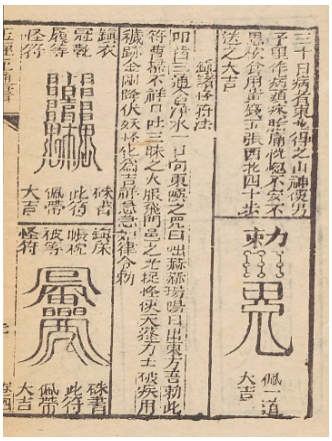


Figure 18: A page showing the "Talismans and Rituals for Suppressing the Prodigies" listed after the *fabing* treatises in *Xin zengguang Yuxia ji*[99]

[97] For example, see *Huitu zengguang Yuxia ji*, *juan* 4, 15, 20.
[98] On the entry for the twenty-fifth day of a month, the demon "sits at the place for rest" and for the twenty-sixth day the demon "sits on the candle." Some entries instruct to attach the talisman on the door, others suggest to swallow or carry it. *Huitu zengguang Yuxia ji*, 1880, *juan* 4.
[99] *Xin zengguang Yuxia ji* , 1797, 213. Full text of this manuscript is available online: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN3308099802



As I have discussed above, the Ming encyclopedias and Qing *Jade Casket* detailed the way to draw and use talismans for common readers. Similarly, the Ming-Qing to early Republican texts detail a series of specific ways to remove demonic threat from the household. Whereas the Dunhuang manuscripts used the technical term "defeat" (*yan* 厭) to describe the working principle of a ritual healer, this specialist's term was no longer used in these later texts. Instead they used more specific verbs for actions that needed to be done by the patient him or herself at home. At the beginning of the section in the medieval Dunhuang "Treatise on the Occurrence of Illness" (P. 2856), for instance, a short introduction says: "(To) calculate the name of the demon according to the date when the illness first occurred, if the symptom is in accordance with (what is recorded here), then paint the image of the demon and write down the magic figure to defeat (*yan* 厭) it; either swallow or attach them to the door (and it) will work." At the end of each entry, there is a sentence giving this instruction: to write the magic figure in vermilion ink, ask the patient to swallow the magic figure, and attach it on the door.[100] (See the left part of Figure 8). These instructions explicitly state the method of defeating the demons by their images. According to Dunhuang scholar Liu Yongming, the word "*yan*" does not indicate any complex ritual. It means to totally defeat, restrain, or exorcise demons.

[100] P. 2856. http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=8445241066;recnum=60038;index=5

Because demons come to harm living people as severely as possible for no reason, there is no possibility of negotiation.[101] Yet, the word "*yan*" explicitly stated the principal effect and not the specific actions that needed to be taken. The patient must have a specialist draw the demon's image and take it home to defeat the demon. This situation had clearly changed centuries later, although we cannot determine exactly when or where due to the lack of sources. But because of extant printed encyclopedias and almanacs, and later manuscripts, we can say that by the late Ming (and continuing through the Qing and early Republican period) comparable *fabing* treatise texts provided ordinary readers with simple methods to rid their homes of demons that they could apply on their own.

In the Ming and Qing texts, the required actions do not involve complicated specialist rituals, nor do they have to be violent. In the "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment," advice ranges from simple acts like calling out the demons, removing the objects, and filling a hole with mud to covering something with a piece of paper or a colored handkerchief. Simple rites were also recommended, such as burning the clothes, beating the utensil on which the demon sits with a stick thirty times, cutting out a pair of paper people and burning them, reciting out loud an incantation, and calling the name of Buddha one hundred times. We thus see here that common people could carry out all the actions needed to expel or suppress domestic threats in their own homes. We also see in Chao Yuan's story that praying to the angry ancestral spirit also works. In this fictional case, negotiation could also take place instead of having to fight with the spirit.

The shared goal of this wide range of methods and rites is to restore order in the domestic space. Whereas Ming encyclopedias and Qing *Jade Casket* used "auspicious" (*ji* 吉) exclusively, in the late Qing *fabing* manuscripts the words "peace" (*an* 安) and "auspicious" are used in most cases, except for a few cases that used "recover from illness" (*yu* 癒). Although in some cases the talismans were to be attached to the human

[101] Liu Yongming, "Dunhuang zhanbu yu Daojiao chutan: yi P. 2856 wenshu wei zhongxin," 15–25.

body, suggesting protecting the human body from demonic attack, the home was certainly part of a larger cosmological order that could be restored to the state of "auspiciousness" through actions carried out by the home's inhabitants. This domestic order could be disrupted by the occurrence of demons and could be re-established through ritual acts. The various versions of the *fabing* treatises can thus be read as a type of new "self-help" genre within the framework of "domestic-demon ritual medicine."

Conclusion

The *fabing* treatises discussed in this chapter are different from elite medical texts and also from antecedents in the Dunhuang manuscripts in that they placed the private home at the center of the illness experience. Presenting a pervasive demonic threat, the violence in both the demonic acts and the counter-acts required to combat the demons as well as a worldview of conflict and order reflect ideas about the relationship between demons and illness that was deeply embedded in Chinese religious culture. This worldview regarding demons and violence also informed social relationships and practices in late imperial China. The *fabing* treatises also provide evidence of domestic-centered ritual healing within the context of demonic medicine in the Ming and Qing. Their authors and compilers envisioned home as a physical space where illness-causing demons could be located, visualized, and ritually suppressed in order to restore domestic order and recover health.

This domestic-centered imagination of illness became a form of vernacular knowledge with the development of commercial publishing during the Ming and Qing. Although these *fabing* treatises had antecedents in the Tang (as the Dunhuang manuscripts show), the commercially printed encyclopedias and almanacs from the late Ming onward both promoted the circulation of the *fabing* treatises more widely than before and also newly placed the home at the center of people's imagination of demonic illnesses. They depicted the occurrence of a variety of demons in domestic spaces as

normal and presented illness as a possible outcome from demonic threats within the home. They placed ideas about illness in the larger framework of a cosmic order that could be calculated according to a host of variables associated with time, located in the physical spaces of home, and then changed through human ritual actions. They also provided their readers with a repertoire of simple rituals, talismans, and methods to ward off and even remove demonic threats themselves without need of ritual specialists.

Beginning in the late Ming, encyclopedias, almanacs, and fiction equipped common people with relevant knowledge about demonic threats to their domestic space and their health within their homes. With the aid of the innovative thirty-day outline,[102] almost anyone could find an explanation and solution for their physical discomfort. At home and by themselves, with the aid of such printed sources now one could imagine his or her illness in the context of a domestic order vulnerable to all kinds of demons but also curable through specific actions. Their experience of illness could then be newly conceived as closely connected to the material reality of their familiar physical space as well as a domestic order they would have understood as requiring frequent negotiation with demons and spirits. Thus, the phrases used to describe Zhen'ge's bodily feelings in *Marital Fate*, "severe pain," "headache," "swelling," and "hot and cold alternatively," were not just plain words for discomfort in everyday life, but both reasonable consequences of demonic threat and culturally meaningful physical signs of the spiritual disorder within Chao Yuan's home.

[102] Late Ming encyclopedias and Qing almanacs, and late Qing manuscripts all use the thirty-day circle.

Part II: Techniques and Morality

Chapter Two: Making Medicines with Practice-Oriented Recipes at Home

Mao Xianglin 毛祥麟 (1812–1883) an amateur student of Chinese medicine from Shanghai described his friendship with Yuan Qixiang 袁綺香 (ca. 19th cent.) from Xi'an,[1] a man who "knows medicine and loves to take medicines" (*gu zhi yi ai fu yao'er* 固知醫愛服藥餌) as follows:

> The place I stayed was close to the home of Yuan Qixiang from Xi'an…When I first visited him, there were formularies (*fangshu* 方書) and drug bowls (*yaowan* 藥碗) all over the place on his desks. This is because he refined and mixed (*xiuhe* 修合), and cooked and made (*paozhi* 炮制) [medicines] all by himself. He once showed me a recipe and said to me: "This recipe came from a famous man, but it includes only ordinary drugs and does little by way of nourishing,[2] so I'll just leave it aside"…I responded: "…how can one value only those bizarre recipes and uncommon drugs?"…Yuan asked: "Your methods are good and benevolent. From whom and which medical lineage did you learn medicine?" I said: "My body was weak in my childhood, so in addition to eating and sleeping well I kept away from reading classics and histories. I only entertained (*xiaoqian* 消遣) myself with recipe books …Later on, when I served my father during his illness, I stayed at home for years, and thus collected [medical] books widely, studied the *Divine Pivot* (*Lingshu*) and *Basic Questions* (*Suwen*),[3] and gradually mastered the ways of taking the pulse and making medicine. This was the starting point for my career, and since then whenever I had some relevant experience, I wrote it down. Now I have accumulated twelve volumes [of recipes] and have given them the title *Benefits from Serving Parents* (*Shi qin yi de* 侍亲一得)."…The next day, when Yuan came to my place, I gave my manuscript to him.[4]

[1] Mao probably served as a doctor for acquaintances at various times in his life. He was also known for his involvement in local philanthropy during and after the Taiping War, and was well known for having authored a collection of anecdotes in the last decades of the nineteenth century. *Shanghai xian xuzhi* (Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), *juan* 18, 9.
[2] Mao held a negative view towards misuse of nourishing drugs and prizing rare drugs. In the following passages, Mao criticized the use of nourishing drugs to treat people with no depletion. He also discussed in detail two cases in which he successfully treated people with ordinary drugs.
[3] *Divine Pivot* and *Basic Questions* are two parts of *The Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon*, the earliest medical classic on Chinese medical theory from the Warring States period.
[4] Mao Xianglin, *Moyu lu* (Shanghai: Jinbu shuju, 1870), *juan* 2, 15a-16a.

Here Mao describes the origins of his medical learning by way of a conversation with his friend Yuan Qixiang. The two men had lost contact for years due to war and unrest in the mid-nineteenth century. Subsequently, Mao learned that Yuan had kept his manuscript during the upheaval and was planning to publish it. At the very beginning of his account, Mao describes a domestic scene in which Yuan collected, evaluated, and tested out recipes at home. From their conversation, we learn that Mao and Yuan shared an interest in medicine, and even more that they both accumulated their medical knowledge through working with recipes. Yuan enjoyed carrying out his tests at home; Mao recounts that he "entertained" himself with recipes due to his own poor health in childhood and serving his weak father for years. While saying that one learned medicine due to childhood illness or in order to better serve one's parents might well have been a conventional literati trope, the emphasis on recipes seems unusual and significant. As Mao's description of Yuan's home shows, working with recipes involved not only textual study but more importantly the practice of testing out recipes, essentially by making the actual medicine by oneself. This story, preserved in a collection of Mao's writings, illustrates the prominence of practice in an important genre of medical writing during the eighteenth and nineteenth, namely the recipes or medicinal "formulas" (*fang* 方).

Starting from the late Ming, recipes containing detailed instructions on how to make simple pills, ointments, and elixirs became more widely available through medical writings as well as popular commercial publications like manuals and daily-use encyclopedias. Describing the specific techniques of making medicine, and even more broadly the procedures to be used in healing, these recipes functioned as a guide for non-experts to follow at home. They thus communicated practical knowledge rather than just textual knowledge of drugs, and as such served as a genre for the production and consumption of new types of practical knowledge in the domestic space. I thus use the phrase "practice-oriented recipes" to refer to recipes recorded and circulated for domestic use that newly underscore the techniques and methods of making medicine, some of

which are extremely detailed and some of which, on the contrary, are more concise. These recipes drew on a variety of existing sources, but acquired new significance as a kind of domestic medical recipe literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Recipe collectors, including both physicians and medical amateurs proposed the universal use of recipes in ordinary households. As Mao Xianglin saw at Yuan Qixiang's home, working with these recipes at home involved the actual handling of all sorts of medicinal substances and utensils within one's own domicile.

Textual resources from two domains of knowledge informed this practice-oriented healing knowledge in recipes during this period. First, making medicines became a more clearly articulated element of literati self-cultivation or "cultivating life" (*yangsheng* 養生) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, which largely presented making one's own medicines as an ideal of domestic life.[5] In this context cultivating-life enthusiasts, mostly literati and some of them also alchemists, circulated recipes containing detailed description of the skills of making elixirs amongst themselves and also via their writings on the same subject.[6] These trends foreshadowed a wider circulation of elixir-making recipes through popular manuals on cultivating life in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Second, recipe handbooks for external medicine in the Qing often contain rich details about how to make and apply medicines oneself at home, with recipes for curing sores and other skin infections outnumbering all other types. Over the course of the late Ming to the Qing, healing techniques once recorded in many of the specialist texts, especially those dealing with alchemy or external medicine, increasingly

[5] Chen Hsiu-fen has studied how "cultivating life" became a favorite topic for the late Ming literati writers and an accessible knowledge for common households in the Jiangnan region. When late Ming literati wrote about and practiced "cultivating life" as a life style to distinguish themselves from people of other social strata, "cultivating life" became part of literati's daily activities rather than mysterious skills held by religious practitioners. Commercial printers avidly collected, edited, and printed literati writings on this topic, thus further spread this body of knowledge to a wider audience. Chen discusses a wide range of practices related to "cultivating life" in the late Ming including the appreciation of artifacts, reproductive technology, gymnastic practices, regulation of daily activities, cultivation of a positive mood in daily life, and dietary guidelines. In this chapter, I further call attention to the practice of making medicine as an important part of "cultivating life" from the late Ming through the Qing. See Chen Hsiu-fen, *Yangsheng yu xiushen: Wan Ming wenren de shenti shuxie yu shesheng jishu* (Taibei: Daoxiang chubanshe), 2009.

[6] Gao Lian's *Eight Essays on Cultivating Life* (*Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋) is a good example of this kind of writing.

appeared as healing skills that anyone could test out for themselves and apply in their own homes. In print or in manuscript form, recipes facilitated the preservation and transmission of knowledge from the realm of literati self-cultivation and medical expertise to ordinary household handbooks.

I begin this chapter by unpacking the techniques, utensils, and substances for domestic healing from a case study of the late-Qing manuscript *A Convenient Survey of Medical Recipes* (*Yifang bianlan* 醫方便覽).[7] Many recipes in this manuscript contain detailed description of the steps involved in making medicines and appear as practical instructions for ordinary people to use in their own homes. I then investigate two genres that contributed to this rising accessibility of domestic healing techniques: 1) texts on cultivating life and alchemy that highlighted handling substances and utensils in elixir making; and 2) texts on external medicine that provided rich technical details for treating wounds and sores. I examine texts written by literati, alchemists, and medical practitioners, focusing on their emphasis on the process of making medicines. Beginning in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, healing techniques based on recipes for making medicines became accessible to a wider audience, and finally found their way into printed Qing household handbooks and late Qing manuscripts such as the *Survey*. For the techniques on healing sores, I use both printed works on external medicine and several late Qing manuscripts from the Berlin collection to illustrate the move of technical knowledge from expert texts written by literati, physicians, and alchemists to household use texts written by commoners and within families.

Substances and Skills in the Household

The manuscript *A Convenient Survey of Medical Recipes* (*Yifang bianlan* 醫方便覽) presents miscellaneous recipes, including folk medical recipes, medical recipes from

[7] This manuscript comes from the Berlin collection.

literati medical books as well as recipes describing household skills. It was probably initially written by a person with the sobriquet Gaoyangshi (高陽氏) before or during the 1820s. The first three volumes have a similar format on the cover page, so they are probably the original copies written by Gaoyangshi. The inscriptions and seals on its cover page show that the manuscript was at least once kept and updated by two persons after Gaoyangshi. The last volume was transcribed by a woman, who wrote down her name as Jinyun (錦澐). She also used her seal, "Zhaoshi Jinyun" (趙氏錦澐) to mark the cover page. She might have been a female family member in Gaoyangshi's family, who lived at the same time or shortly after Gaoyangshi died. A person named Xu Guoxiang (許國祥) who also imprinted his seal on the cover page of the first three volumes was probably a later keeper of the manuscript. His relationship with Gaoyangshi and Zhao Jinyun is unclear. The manuscript was updated by Gaoyangshi himself, Zhao Jinyun, or Xu Guoxiang, at least until the late Qing.[8]

Although the manuscript was kept in private hands, its compiler very likely envisioned it as a book project. He not only gave the manuscript a title, but also in some instances he addressed his audience directly, as members of the general public who could treat themselves according to the recipes. At the end of a preface to a group of recipes for treating sores, for example, he wrote: "I thus collect and record recipes from various books together with good recipes orally transmitted by friends, in the hope that people in

[8] I refer to this manuscript as the *Survey* in the following writing. I dated the manuscript according to the compiler's reference to the outbreaks of epidemic in Henan and Shandong in Qianlong's reign and in a Xinsi year in its first volume. The year 1821 is a Xinsi year that witnessed a widespread outbreak of epidemics in central and northern China. As the Xinsi year's outbreak is referred to as a recent event, the manuscript was probably written before or shortly after 1821. An additional clue to support this dating is that the compiler collected a recipe published by a certain Feng Lüqian, who served as magistrate in several places during the Qianlong reign. As Feng's personal writings seldom circulated after his death, the compiler of the *Yifang bianlan* most likely collected the recipe during Feng's lifetime when he published the recipe as a magistrate or shortly after its publication. (See note 46 in Chapter 4). At the end of the manuscript, there is a recipe for quitting opium smoking. This kind of recipe commonly appeared in daily encyclopedias like the *Wanbao quanshu* in the late Qing. Its presence in the collection indicates that people in the family kept adding new entries to the last volume until the late Qing. For the reference to the 1821 epidemic, see *Yifang bianlan*, 86-93. Slg. Unschuld 8453. For Feng's recipe, see *Yifang bianlan*, 24.

the world will be able to treat [themselves] according to these recipes."[9] As he stated, the recipes in this manuscript were not his original creation, but rather part of his own collection. This unfinished book manuscript gathers together all kinds of recipes: simple declarative recipes are scattered among recipes that have long paragraphs describing the drug-making processes in detail. Many of them clearly had a pedagogical function. The original creators of these recipes wrote them down and publicized them with the clear intention that others should make use of them. The creation of such a recipe collection could only be possible when recipes were no longer merely the product of expert knowledge requiring extensive textual study, but rather had become instructions for direct application by non-experts.

The practice-oriented recipes included in this manuscript show some characteristics that were quite different from recipes in *materia medica* literature, which scholars have regarded as the main body of medical literature devoted to drug processing techniques. Beginning in the sixteenth century, elite-authored *materia medica* works and related popular texts positioned drug qualities at the center of medical inquiry.[10] This body of literature placed formulas in a supplementary position, and presented techniques mainly as the right way to bring out the right properties of individual drugs. For example, the *Systematic Materia Medica* (*Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, pr. 1596) only lists formulas from earlier medical texts at the end of each entry of individual drug substances, the main body of which is composed of textual and experiential knowledge of the origin and properties of the substance. The author of this culmination of Chinese *materia medica*, Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593) presents formulas as textual knowledge from existing medical writings, and thus records the source of each formula and groups those using the same substance together. Authors of practice-oriented household or family recipes, on the

[9] *Yifang bianlan*, 309.
[10] For a study of literati-authored *materia medica* text, see Bian He, "*Assembling the Cure: Materia Medica and the Culture of Healing in Late Imperial China*" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2014), 36-80; For a study on popular *materia medica* texts, see Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel* Medicine, 73-121.

other hand, highlighted processing skills of making medicines over abstract drug properties. The practice-oriented recipes were different from what we see in *materia medica* literature in two respects. First, they embody rich technical knowledge; second, the instructions for making a medicine and delivering a cure occupy center stage in these recipes rather than the bibliographic history of individual drugs as was more the case in the contemporary *materia medica* tradition that Li Shizhen's magnum opus epitomized.

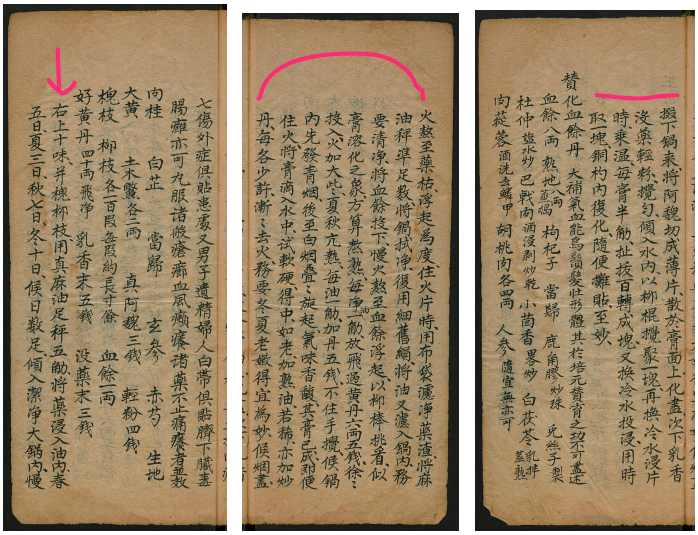
In many recipes in the *Survey*, for example, we find very long and meticulous descriptions of the steps to make certain medicines. These details ostensibly were provided in order to guarantee success, but they were also considered attractive and exotic to enthusiasts of the genre. For instance, a recipe for curing external sores provides the following detailed instructions after a summary of symptoms and a short list of ten drugs and six other substances:

> [Use] the drugs listed on the right, the willow and locust branch pieces, and five *hu* of pure sesame oil. Soak the drugs in the oil, in the spring for five days, summer for three days, autumn for seven days, and winter for ten days. When the last day comes, pour [the mixture] into a big clean pot. Boil it on low heat until the dregs wither and float to the surface. Turn off the heat for a while. Filter out the dregs with a cotton bag. Weigh the sesame oil and ensure sufficient quantity, wipe the pot clean, and use a piece of used silk cloth to filter the oil back into the pot. Make sure it is clear and clean. Add the *xueyu* 血餘 (Crinis Carbonisatus, carbonized human hair) to the pot and boil with slow heat until the *xueyu* floats up. Stir up [the mixture] with a willow stick and observe. When it looks like a melted ointment, it is done. For every one *hu* of clear oil slowly add six *liang* and five *qian* of boiled *huangdan* 黃丹 (Plumbum Rubrum, Red lead). Increase the level of the fire. During the hot days in summer and autumn, every *qian* of oil add five *qian* of [*huang*]*dan*. Keep stirring [the mixture], and then when dark smoke

rises and heavy white smoke spirals up with strong aroma, the ointment is done. Stop the fire. Drop the ointment into some water to test its density. It should be of medium thickness. If it is too dry, add some boiled oil. If it is too light, add fried [*huang*]*dan*. Add either one little by little and slowly turn off the heat. Make sure it has proper hardness in summer and winter. Wait until the smoke disappears, [and then] take [the mixture] out of the pot. Cut the *a'wei* 阿魏 (Ferula assafoetida, Asafoetida) into thin pieces and spread them onto the surface [of the mixture]. Until they are melted, add *ruxiang* 乳香 (Boswellia carteri, Frankincense), *moyao* 沒藥 (Commihora myrrha, Myrrh), and *qingfen* 輕粉 (Mercurous Chloride, Calomel), stir until mixed well. Pour out [the mixture] into water and stir it with a willow stick until it coagulates into one chunk. Then soak it in cold water for a while. When it is still warm, take a half *hu* of the mixture each time, pull back and forth a hundred times, and place it in a new batch of cold water. Upon using it, take one piece out and melt it in a copper spoon. Apply as needed. It is superbly splendid.[11] [See Figure 19].

Figure 19 The instruction part of a recipe entitled "*Taiyi* ointment with a list of expanded utilities" (*jiawei taiyigao* 加味太乙膏)

[11] *Yifang bianlan*, 230-233.



The instructions are quite detailed in describing the methods to process the drugs: boil, stir, soak, filter, pull back and forth; the order of mixing; the ways to observe the changes during the making process and seasonal variations to the recipe; as well as the way to use the ointment. It tells the reader what to expect in the making process in a highly visualized way: "floating," "looks like a melted ointment," "dark smoke," and "white smoke." It guides the reader on how to control the fire and change the water. Recipes like this thus served as an important arena for the production and recording of pharmaceutical technology. Although the compiler of the *Survey* shows great knowledge of medicine, and might have been a medical practitioner himself, he evidently intended his recipes to be used by ordinary people in their own homes.

Starting in the late Ming, recipe collections and daily-use encyclopedias increasingly featured instructions on how to make medicine. In recipes that were intended to be used at home during the late Ming and Qing, the words most frequently used to describe the process of making medicine are "to refine and mix" *(xiuhe* 修合) and "to mix drugs" (*heyao* 合藥). The *Survey* has recipes that tell readers "to refine and mix according to the recipe" (*yifang xiuhe* 依方修合). For instance, a "Recipe from the bare-foot immortal for pills made with fish maw to help insemination" (*Chijiao Daxian yupiao*

zhongzi wanfang 赤腳大仙魚鰾種子丸方) tells the story of how a person with the surname Zhou from Yunnan received a recipe from a Daoist immortal on a famous mountain. This Mr. Zhou "refined and mixed [the medicine] according to the recipe" (*yifang xiuhe* 依方修合), and after taking doses for forty days he felt his "eyesight improved and his body strengthened with stronger sinews and bones." One recipe with the title "Elixir for dispelling the plague and saving the suffering" (*Chuwen jiu ku dan* 除瘟救苦丹) concludes: "This elixir is extremely effective, and [one] should refine and mix [it] to benefit the world" (*yi xiuhe yi ji shi* 宜修合以濟世).[12] These recipes suggest ways in which making medicine is a cognate of other types of activities involving ritual purity and right-mindedness, like that of religious worship and self-cultivation. They also present making medicine strictly following their guide as a task anyone could do and even should do to benefit others. The words "*jiu ku*" ("saving the suffering") and "*ji shi*" (benefit the world) convey a strong connotation of merit accumulation.

The word "*xiuhe*" ("refine and mix") conveys a strong sense of personal endeavor related to self-cultivation (as in *xiushen* 修身): the person mixing medicines needs to prepare himself well, clean himself beforehand, be "sincere" (*chengxin* 诚心), and control the whole process of making the recipe including, for example, excluding potentially polluting women, chickens, and dogs from being present to observe the process. A recipe in the *Survey* asks the reader to choose an auspicious day, fast, bathe, and then "sincerely refine and mix" (*qianxin xiuhe* 虔心修合) the medicine.[13] Some recipes from the Qing recommend making the medicine on a good day,[14] thereby

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[12] *Jiye liangfang*, 89-90. Slg. Unschuld 8210.
[13] *Yifang bianlan*, 199.
[14] See for example, a recipe says towards its end: "Select a good day to weigh and mix [the ingredients] extremely even and keep [the powders] in a porcelain bottle." Similar words also appear at the beginning of another recipe. *Jiye liangfang*, 26, 90.

situating the making of medicine within the temporal framework of vernacular time (i.e., the rhythms governing daily life practice). Many daily-use encyclopedias and popular almanacs from the Qing period, for example, include a new entry of "good days for mixing drugs" (*heyao jiri* 合藥吉日) in addition to the entry on "good days for seeing a doctor" (*qiuyi kanbing jiri* 求醫治病吉日), which was also the only references related to health care in the section on day selection from earlier almanacs.[15]

Thus practice-oriented recipes present a world of pharmaceutical technology quite different from those recorded in the literature on how to "cook and make" (*paozhi* 炮製) individual drug substances.[16] On the one hand, the practice-oriented recipes emphasize the process of mixing drugs, instead of cooking individual drugs; on the other hand, it conveys a strong sense of personal practice of self-cultivation and merit making. These differences seem especially salient when we compare the ways in which "*xiuhe*" 修合 ("refine and mix") and the word "*paozhi*" 炮製 ("cook and make") were used. Previous scholarship has regarded literature on "*paozhi*" as the major source of pharmaceutical processing technology after the Song.[17] This body of literature was incorporated into the *materia medica* (*bencao*) literature starting from the seventeenth century. It later left a lasting legacy that emphasized processing individual raw drugs into cooked ones and thereby bringing out the right properties of individual drugs. After the seventeenth century, the most prominent example came from various *materia medica* texts that

[15] This new addition first occurred in some late-Ming encyclopedias. For example, see Lin Shaozhou, *Xinkan liqi xiangbian zuanyao santai bianlan tongshu zhengzong*, reprinted in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vol. 1063 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996). For an example of Qing almanac, see *Huitu zengguang Yuxia ji*, 1880.

[16] The earliest known book devoted solely to the method of drug preparation is *On Lei Gong's Methods of Drug Preparation* (*Leigong paozhilun* 雷公炮製論), which is probably written during the fifth century. And there are several Song titles on drug preparation, but all have been lost. The interest in drug preparation peaked in the seventeenth century, when many materia media works incorporated related content, besides several books deals exclusively about this issue. See Paul Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 236-254.

[17] See for example, in Paul Unschuld's discussion of pharmaceutics in Chinese history, pharmaceutical technology only comes into the overall picture of pharmaceutics as part of the *bencao* literature. Paul Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 236- 254.

incorporated the Master Thunder (Lei Gong 雷公) texts.[18] Doctors or pharmacies drew on this body of literature to legitimate their medical expertise in medical and commercial contexts. For example, private pharmacies in urban centers drew on this tradition to bolster their claim of authority in processing medical substances and making compound medicines, and advertised their methods as secret or the most reliable.[19] Their use of the word "*paozhi*" resonated with the legendary images of the Master Thunder texts, which enforced their credibility and authenticity in the marketplace. In contrast, the word "*xiuhe*," which delivered a much stronger sense of personal refinement or self-cultivation, was frequently used in household recipes, indicating their domestic production, and so thereby integrated self-cultivation practices with drug-processing techniques in the home.

For example, the "Recipe from the Bare-foot Immortal for pills made with fish maw to help insemination" in the *Survey* lists the individual drugs required and, after each drug, it provides instructions on how to process it.[20] For the *chuan fuzi* 川附子 (Aconitum carmichalii Debx, Chinese aconite) from Sichuan, for instance, one needs to select the following:

> two pieces with each weighing four *liang* and five *qian*, cut off their sprouts and cut each of them into four pieces, soak them with raw *gancao* 甘草 (Glycyrrhiza uralensis, Licorice) water for seven days, change the water every morning, and then cover them with half *jin* of wet flour, heat until cooked over a slow charcoal fire, cut them into pieces, and then heat to dry.[21]

At the end of its drug list, the recipe summarizes, "to cook and make the listed drugs according to the [described] methods" (*yi shang zhu yao ru fa paozhi* 以上諸藥如法炮製

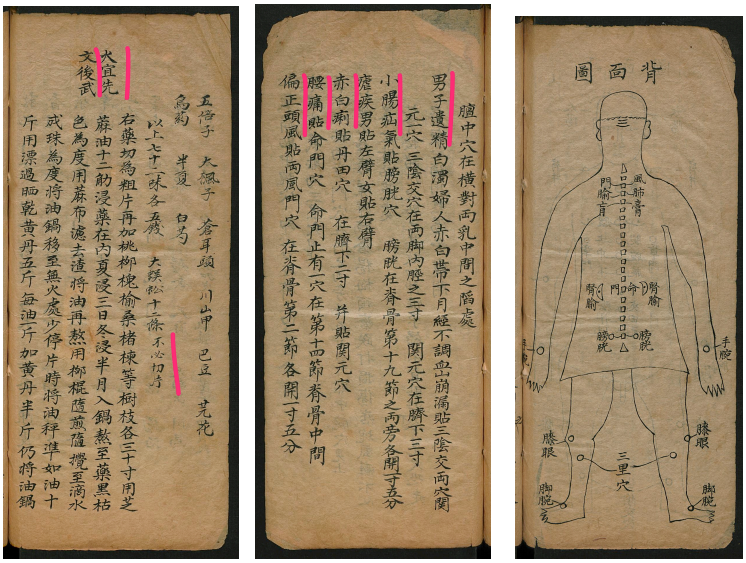
[18] See for example, the seventeenth-century work, Li Zhongzi, *Lei Gong paozhi yaoxing jie*, 1622 (Repr. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995).
[19] Bian He, *Assembling the Cure*, 275-280.
[20] *Yifang bianlan*, 9.
[21] Ibid., 12.

). The word "*paozhi*" here refers to processing the drugs according to the methods listed under each drug. The recipe then continues with instructions on how to grind the drugs into powders and mix the powders into pills, and also explains the way to take the medicine.[22] In contrast, the story of the recipe's provenance used the word "*xiuhe*." The story validates the efficacy of the recipe by stating that upon meeting an immortal on a mountain Mr. Zhou "bowed and received it (meaning the recipe)" (*bai er shou zhi* 拜而受之) and "refined and mixed [the medicine] according to the recipe" (*yi fang xiuhe* 依方修合), and then had seven sons. Here, "*xiuhe*" was clearly a more general term referring to all of the work from processing individual drugs to mixing them together into a pill, which also conveys the associated sense of piety and self-cultivation.[23]

In another recipe in the manuscript, the compiler of the *Survey* includes all the information from preparing the ointment to applying it to the right acupuncture point. [See Figure 20].

Figure 20 Three pages from an ointment recipe telling the ways to prepare the ointment, the acupuncture points to which to attach it, and an illustration helping people find the point on an individual[24]

[22] Ibid., 12.
[23] Here the mixing process was simply stated as "to grind all the ingredients into powders and mix with honey to form pills as large as the seeds of *wutong*" (*gong yan xi mo lian mi wei wan ru wutongzi da* 共研細末煉白蜜為丸如梧桐子大). But in many other recipes more steps were introduced. It is notable that even the methods of processing individual drugs here were rather detailed step-by-step instructions.
[24] *Yifang bianlan*, 280-289.



For back pain, he instructs the reader to "attach the ointment to the *mingmen* point" and further adds: "There is only one *mingmen* point. It is located in the middle of the fourteenth backbone." When applying the ointment, one should "avoid fire to prevent the scent of *she* 麝 (Moschus) from dissipating, and just warm it using hot water." All the points mentioned are shown in two illustrations. To help the reader find the correct location, the compiler further adds in the end: "When measuring the points, one *cun* equals the distance between the two lines in the middle of the middle finger. To get the right point, the body must be even and straight."[25] These instructions clearly seem intended to help ordinary readers to apply this ointment.

To make a medicine according to a recipe one does not necessarily need to buy all the ingredients from pharmacies either. Many substances are taken from common household, market, and business settings. A "Whole chicken ointment" requires only a whole chicken, sesame oil, and the drug *huangdan* 黃丹 (Plumbum Rubrum, Red lead).[26] Probably one only would need to buy the *huangdan* drug from a pharmacy. The recipe starts with instructions on how to kill and clean the chicken:

[25] Ibid., 285, 288, 289.
[26] The drug *huangdan* may have also been available in the food markets. The author did not indicate where to find the substance. Many ointment recipes mention *huangdan* as the last ingredient added to the mixture.

> Use an old red cock. One of two- or three-years old is the best. Kill it with a bamboo knife. Withdraw its blood but keep the feathers. Cut open the belly and take out the gizzard, liver, intestines, and all the other organs. Wipe the blood from the chicken with a piece of paper or cloth. Avoid water and iron utensils. Put it into an earthen pot and boil it together with pure sesame oil, alternating between mild and strong fire. Boil and then take out the dregs. Squeeze out the oily liquid with a piece of rough cloth. Boil [the liquid] and constantly stir it with the branches from an elm tree, willow tree, mulberry tree, or locust tree until round droplets form in the water. Add in the roasted *huangdan* and mix well into an ointment.[27]

The recipe presents these details about choosing and cleaning the chicken as critical factors for success, while including instructions on how to further boil, filter, and stir the mixture. The directions found here are quite similar to those for many other ointment recipes. Another recipe for treating sores, asks for easily obtained lard oil and oils extracted from cooked egg yolks to mix powders into an ointment.[28] A recipe for a treatment for burns lists the "ashes of hundreds of grasses" (*baicaoshuang* 百草霜) as an ingredient and notes that this term refers actually to the "coal that forms on the bottom of pots that are found in rural households" (*shanye jia ren guodi mei* 山野家人鍋底煤).[29]

The majority of substances used in recipes from the manuscript *Book of Drugs and Demons* (*Yao sui shu* 藥祟書),[30] a collection of folk recipes that probably circulated

[27] *Yifang bianlan*, 289.
[28] Ibid., 253.
[29] Ibid., 273.
[30] The word "*sui*" could mean "demons" or other spirits belonging to the underworld, and thus it indicates something that is inauspicious. The word "*sui shu*" was often used to refer to a kind of popular calculation handbook used in ordinary households, which provides tips to help people avoid bad fortunes. The title "*Yao sui shu*" probably indicates a handbook about both demons and drugs. Actually, the preface of this manuscript mentions that it includes texts for calculating the occurrence of illness-causing demons, though the extant version of the manuscript omits this part in its main body. All the recipes in this manuscript are folk recipes with short instructions for cure. So the book could function in a way similar to that of calculation books, to serve as a handbook with which one could directly look up a quick solution for specific health issues. Another book attributed to the author Pu Songling, the famous writer of tales of the strange, has the title "*Yaohui tu*," which literally means "Illustrated Stories of Drug Gathering." The

in Shandong province in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were common foods, like "dried persimmon" (*shibing* 柿餅), "cooked rice" (*ganfan* 乾飯), "raw ginger juice" (*shengjiang zhi* 生薑汁), "large oranges" (*da juzi* 大橘子), and "chive juice" (*jiucai zhi* 韭菜汁). Or they were just everyday substances, such as "dirt from the scalp" (*tougou* 頭垢) and the "excrement of brown cows" (*huang niu fen* 黃牛糞).[31]

Some recipes exclusively use domestic materials. In the *Survey*, a recipe from a Mr. Feng for treating acute stomach pain uses only white salt. The recipe starts:

> If one suddenly feels unbearable stomach pain, namely what is commonly called colic (*jiaochangsha* 絞腸痧), avoid taking any medicine or hot tea or congee. Just heat two to three *liang* of white salt in a clean pot. Let the heat [in the salt] slightly dissipate. Wrap the salt using a piece of clean cloth with a piece of clean paper inside. Place the salt bag on top of the navel and bind it with a band. Replace the salt bag with a new one when it cools down.[32]

A recipe for treating skin blisters on the feet requires one only to mix ashes found on the bottom of pots with sesame oil.[33] While many ordinary substances found in the household could be used as ingredients in certain recipes, the methods to handle these materials sometimes mimic those used to process drugs in a more "formal" medical formula. The "Miracle recipe for treating jaundice" (*huangdan* 黃疸) illustrates this point in the following excerpt:

> One *qian* and five *fen* of *guangmuxiang* 廣木香 (Sauussurea costus, a species of thistle), five steamed buns made from wheat (*baozi* 包子), twenty-five black dates. Make a small hole on the bottom of the bun, add into [each bun] three *fen*

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characters "*tu*" and "*shu*" look like comparable components of the titles. So I translate the title "*Yao sui shu*" as *Book of Drugs and Demons*.
[31] Pu Songling, *Yao sui shu*, preface dated 1706.
[32] *Yifang bianlan*, 17.
[33] Ibid., 26.

> of *guangmuxiang*, fill the hole with the original pieces from the bun, burn (*duan* 煅) [the bun] on slow and strong heat (*wen wu huo* 文武火) into charcoal while keeping its original quality (*cunxing* 存性). Soak the black dates in hot water to remove the skin. Pound the date seeds together with the scorched buns into five pills (*dao cheng wan* 捣成丸). To make a soup with three *qian* of *chenyin* 陳茵 (Artemisia capillaris thumb, a species of mugwort), dissolve [one of] the pills and take it. [This] is the most effective way.[34]

These instructions present the handling of everyday substances in the standard form of a medical recipe. Although *guangmuxiang* and *chenyin* are drugs, buns and dates are both clearly ordinary foods. The words "*duan*" ("burn"), "*wenwu huo*" ("slow and strong heat"), "*cunxing*" ("keeping the original quality"), and "*dao cheng wan*" ("scorch into pills") are all commonly used to describe the methods of processing drugs commercially in a pharmacy, but here they are used instead to refer to the ways of handling everyday substances which are being mixed with pharmaceuticals and processed into medicine privately in the home.

Not only do the substances used in these recipes including ordinary items found in one's home, the utensils and tools are also those readily available in an ordinary household. In many cases, the recipe-making tools are the same kinds of food-processing utensils used at home. One recipe even recommends "using warmed shoes to heat the ointment plaster" (*yong xie hong re wei zhi* 用鞋烘熱熨之) attached.[35] A recipe for treating vaginal bleeding instructs the reader to heat a "rice bowl" (*fanwan* 飯碗) of "cottonseed" (*mianhuazi* 棉花子) in an earthen pot, and then place the cottonseed on the floor and cover it with the bowl.[36] A recipe to treat foot infections suggests using a piece

[34] Pu Songling, *Yao sui shu*, 72.
[35] *Yifang bianlan*, 290.
[36] Ibid., 28-29.

of "roof tile" (*wapian* 瓦片) as the container for heating the powder.[37] A recipe from Wutai Mountain uses one "tea cup" (*chazhong* 茶鐘) of water to boil the ashes from burned mulberry bark.[38] A recipe for a formula to stop nose bleeds recommends that "hay stems" (*maicaoguan* 麥草管), "tiny bamboo pipes" (*xizhuguan* 細竹管), and "goose quills" (*e'maoguan* 鵝毛管) all could be used as tools to insufflate the powder.[39] A recipe for hair dye explains that one should use a "needle" (*zhen* 針) to spear a pine nut and hold it "on top of a candle flame" (*denghuo* 燈火) to extract the oil.[40] A recipe for curing "river poison" (*xidu* 溪毒), a local Jiangnan illness, uses a "small writing brush" (*xiaobiguan* 小筆管) to perform bloodletting in the nose.[41] A recipe for curing sores on the bottoms of the feet asks one to use a half-full "wine jar" (*jiutan* 酒罈) to warm them.[42] Many recipes suggest using "earthen pots" (*shaguo* 砂鍋) or "jars" (*waguan* 瓦罐) as containers. In another late-Qing manuscript titled *A Collection of Superlative Recipes* (*Jiye liangfang* 集腋良方), we see some other household tools and everyday items as well such as "chopsticks" (*zhu* 箸), a "rice pot" (*fanguo* 飯鍋), and "chicken feathers" (*jiyu* 鸡羽).[43]

Many recipes present such ordinary household materials as easily accessible and methods as extremely simple; they tend to encourage the collector of the recipes to try them out at home. The language of simplicity also commonly appears in folk recipes or "simple formulas" (*danfang* 單方), which usually only call for a few substances and

[37] Ibid., 253.
[38] Ibid., 269.
[39] Ibid., 294.
[40] Ibid., 18.
[41] Ibid., 23.
[42] Ibid., 23.
[43] *Jiye liangfang*, 113, 170, 171.

sometimes even just have one sentence of instruction. Words like "only needs to" (*zhixu* 只須) suggest the ease to obtain and handle the substances. A "Recipe to get rid of warts" (*zhi xiuzi fang* 治口子方) is composed, for instance, of the following instructions:

> No matter how big or small the warts are, or if two or three of them merged into one, [one] just needs (*zhixu* 只須) to take an old eggplant picked in the late autumn, cut off a piece of it next to its calyx, use the cut surface to scrub off [the warts], and use it to scrub [the site with warts] several times a day whenever possible.[44]

Recipes containing only one single sentence of instruction similarly convey a strong sense of spontaneity and a quick-cure. A recipe to treat infected frostbite, for instance, instructs: "Grind *haipiaoxiao* 海螵蛸 (Endoconcha sepiae, Cuttle fish bone) into powder and spreading it on [the frostbite] will cure it overnight" (*guo ye ji yu* 過夜即愈).[45] A recipe for toothache states, "Burn the pumpkin stalks into ashes keeping its (the pumpkin stalks) original property (*cunxing* 存性), and grind it into powder; apply it to the painful point, [and it] will heal on its own" (*yu tengtong chu ca zhi zi yu* 於疼痛處擦之自愈).[46] A recipe titled "Saving someone from dying of fright" (*jiu jingxia si* 救驚嚇死) says, "Filling [the mouth] with pure wine will cure [it]" (*yi chun jiu guan zhi yu* 以醇酒灌之愈).[47] One can also find many recipes like these in the *Book of Drugs and Demons* (*Yao sui shu* 藥祟書). A recipe with the title "Treating wounds caused by the biting and kicking of mules and horses," for instance, tells the reader that: "The person himself should chew big slices of plain boiled pork together with cooked rice and attach [the

[44] *Yifang bianlan*, 21.
[45] *Haipiaoxiao* is the bone of the cuttlefish, commonly available as a drug substance or as part of dried cuttlefish as food. *Yifang bianlan*, 26.
[46] *Yifang bianlan*, 271.
[47] Ibid., 273.

paste] to the wound; [this] will 'immediately relieve the pain' (*li shi zhitong* 立時止痛)."[48] The commanding tone in these recipes conveys both the efficacy and simplicity of the methods described.

There are also some recipes in the *Survey* that present the selection and collection of substances as a personal endeavor. One of this kind is the "Secretly transmitted elixir for prolonging longevity" (*michuan yanshou dan* 秘傳延壽丹), a recipe that was originally created and used for years by the renowned late-Ming scholar official Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636). This recipe later gained great popularity in the Qing through several publications, like Shi Chengjin's 石成金 (1659–?) *Family Treasures Handed Down* (*Chuanjia bao* 傳家寶, first published in 1739) and Qian Tao's 錢濤 *Elixir Recipes for Prolonging Longevity* (*Yanshou dan fang* 延壽丹方, 1847). The compiler of the *Survey* recorded this widely circulated and published recipe in his manuscript. The recipe gives a quite detailed description on how to process each drug for this specific recipe. One might buy some of the drugs directly from a pharmacy, but some are only to be collected by oneself at certain times of year in a ritualized way. To make the elixir, for instance, one needs to pick the leaves of *xixian cao* 豨薟草 (Siegesbeckiae, Pig pungent weed) in the fifth and sixth months of a year, the young leaves of mulberry trees in the fourth month, and they "must be from cultivated not wild mulberry trees" (*yao jia yuan sangye bu yao ye sangye* 要家園桑葉不要野桑葉). One must also collect honeysuckle flowers and the herb *nüzhenzi* 女貞子 (Fructus ligustri lucidi, Frivet fruit) "in rural gardens on the day of the winter solstice" (*dongzhi ri xiangcun yuanlin zhong* 冬至日鄉村園林中), but picking only "those in the shape of the kidneys and black in

[48] Pu Songling, *Yao sui shu*, 39.

color" (*yaozi yang heise zhe* 腰子樣黑色者). The text further explains *nüzhenzi* of this kind will "work on the Kidney channel" (*zou shenjing* 走腎經).[49] Another recipe in the *Survey* for an "Auspicious elixir" (*jixiang dan* 吉祥丹), which probably circulated widely in the nineteenth century, also tells the reader to pick the required materials on a specific day:[50]

> Pick a handful of canola flowers on the day of Clear and Bright (*qingming* 清明)[51] at a location without any other people [around], dry them under the sun, mix them with white honey and lime dust, and make the mixture into a ball. On the first day of the lunar year, place it in the shadow of the base of the front gate. Burn the ball to worship: "Anything [one] asks for will come with good fortune." Do it seven times and then walk towards the inside. The next year [one] will have good fortune for a whole year.[52]

In these various texts from which people collected recipes for their own use at home, we find a much richer healing culture than was prevalent in writings by literati doctors. From the late Ming to the Qing, we have ample evidence that commoners engaged in everyday home healing practices in a world of medicine that was very far from being dominated by experts and the medical marketplace. Recipes as a kind of practice-oriented domestic text brought diverse healing techniques and experience into ordinary households. Making medicine with one's own hands involved both the skills to handle household substances and utensils, pay attention to details, and follow instructions as well as the personal quality of sincere piety thereby linking following recipes with cultivating virtues.

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[49] *Yifang bianlan*, 12-17,
[50] Yu Zhi mentioned in his book that blind people usually sold self-made "Auspicious elixirs" during the Lunar New Year. Yet how this recipe circulated remains unclear. It might be transmitted in person or in popular manuals. Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*.
[51] "Qingming" is the name of the fifth solar term of the traditional East Asian lunisolar calendar. A major festival in China, tt usually falls around early April.
[52] *Yifang bianlan*, 371-372.

The miscellaneous recipes included in the *Survey* indicate the availability of rich and varied textual sources to explain the healing techniques its compiler recorded. Two types of sources, namely texts on cultivating life and on external medicine, account for the most technically detailed recipes that circulated for domestic use. In the late Ming and Qing, the skills of making elixirs and medicines, which previously were recorded as a kind of expert knowledge for alchemists and physicians, entered into the domestic realm of ordinary households when practice-oriented recipes circulated in a new social context.

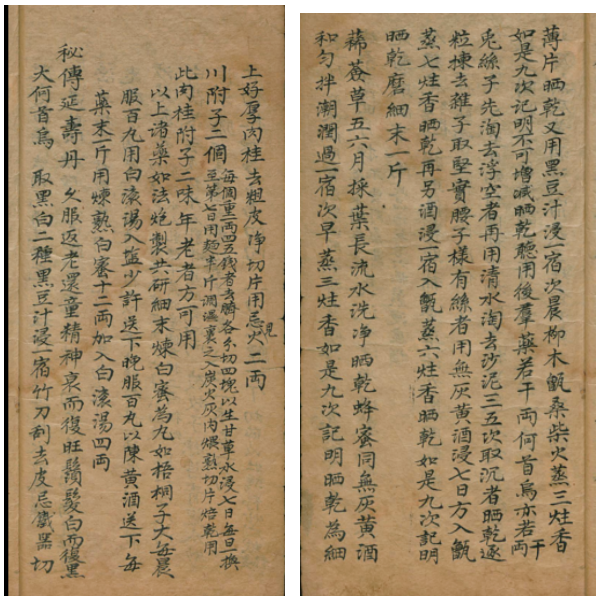
Handling Substances for Cultivating Life

Starting in the late Ming, literati fascination for cultivating life encompassed a wide range of daily practices, including bodily skills as well as techniques of handling medicinal substances. Literati writings on cultivating life presented these practices as essential for domestic life, and they presented recipes for making elixirs as an important resource of healing techniques to be used in the domestic space. Related practices then spread from literati to other social groups when these recipes appeared in popular manuals and encyclopedias in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The circulation of one particular recipe, the "Secretly transmitted elixir for prolonging longevity" (*michuan yanshou dan* 秘傳延壽丹), from the late Ming to its inclusion in the late-Qing *Survey*, testifies well to this phenomenon. Instead of presenting just a drug list, this recipe in both its printed and manuscript versions gives a step-by step guide on how to make the elixir by oneself.[53] It provides a detailed description of the method to process each ingredient under its name, which generally begins with where and how to collect the substance, followed by an explanation of how to clean, boil, steam, or dry it, and ends with the weight of the substance needed after processing. For example, for the second ingredient, *tusizi* 菟絲子 (Semen Cuscutae, Cuscuta seed), one needs to:

[53] Although the version of the recipe in the *Survey* uses slightly different wording, the form of this recipe did not change substantially as it appeared in various sources from the late Ming to the late Qing.

Put [the *tusizi*] in a bowl of water and pick out the ones that float up to the surface of the water; wash away soil and sand on the remaining ones with clean water, repeat this three to five times; dry the ones that drop to the bottom under the sun; Pick out deteriorated ones and only take hard and kidney-shaped ones that have a sprout on them. Soak them in clear yellow wine for seven days, steam for the duration of burning seven sticks of incense, and dry under the sun; then soak in a new batch of wine, steam for the duration of burning six sticks of incense, and dry under the sun. Repeat this process nine times and record clearly. Dry thoroughly under the sun and grind into one *jin* of fine powder.[54] [See Figure 21].

Figure 21 The first two pages of the recipe
"Secretly transmitted elixir for prolonging longevity" in the *Survey*[55]



Almost all the later sources attribute this recipe to the renowned late Ming calligrapher, painter, and art critic Dong Qichang. The recipe circulated as a symbol of Dong's literary and political reputation among his followers in the late Ming and Qing. During the Kangxi reign, some unknown person was said to have kept a copy of this

[54] *Yifang bianlan*, 13.
[55] Ibid., 12-13.

recipe written in the cursive style of calligraphy Dong used in his later years.[56] Chen Xunzhai 陳遜齋 (ca. 1600s–1690s),[57] an amateur scholar of medicine, was an active advocate and distributer of this recipe. Chen studied calligraphy from Dong and, finally, asked Dong to transmit the recipe to him after serving him for years. From a short quotation by Chen placed before the version of the recipe reprinted in the *Family Treasures*, we learn that Chen devoted most of his time in his later years to studying classical medical texts, so when he fell severely ill at the age of seventy-five, he "looked for the substances and made the elixir according to this recipe" (*jiang danfang mi yao xiuzhi* 將丹方覓藥修治). After taking the elixir for several months, he was allegedly able to climb up Yuhua Mountain (雨花台, in a suburb of Nanjing) faster than his friends, his white hair had turned black again, and he was able to walk faster than before. He stated that since many of his relatives and friends asked for this recipe he decided to publicize it in the hope of "prolonging his own life as well as that of others" (*zi shou shou ren* 自壽壽人). He stressed that even though the drug is powerful, one must have "the drug's power and one's own moral power functioning in parallel" (*yao li yu dexing bing xing* 藥力與德行並行) in order "to keep one's well-being" (*zi huo wan quan* 自獲萬全).[58] Chen's two self-proclaimed *jiadi* 家弟 ("family brothers") or "brothers," He Lianggong 何亮功 (ca. 17th cent.) and Fang Xiangxian 方享咸 (ca. 17th cent.), reaffirmed Chen's point on morality and prolonging longevity in their two prefaces written for the recipe.[59] Both of them expressed strong suspicion towards doctors, giving examples in their prefaces of several doctors' failures in treating their family members: it was Chen who

[56] Liang Zhangju, *Langji congtan* (1846), *juan* 8, 12b-14a.
[57] I estimate Chen's lifetime on the basis of Mao Xiang's (1611–1693) account. When Mao Xiang was about seventy years old, Chen was eighty.
[58] Shi Chengjin, "*Chuanjia bao siji*, *juan zhi ba*" in *Chuanjia bao*, first pr.1739 (Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 1491.
[59] He and Fang refer to themselves at the end of their passages as the "*jiadi*" of Chen Xunzhai, which probably indicates that they had some relationship to him by marriage.

saved the lives at the last moment. They depicted Chen as a person who "understood the Way" (*dedao* 得道), namely as a practitioner of the correct way of using drugs to regulate his own body. In their account, Chen's successful experience of cultivating life, attested by his black hair and good facial appearance, unquestionably indicated the reliability of the recipe, which is further supported with the "variety of techniques of processing drugs" (*zhong zhong paozhi* 种种炮制) clearly specified in it.[60]

Thus, in Chen Xunzhai's hands this elixir recipe became a gift, carrying with it the moral power of both Dong and himself as well as concrete techniques with which to cultivate longevity that could be used to network with friends and relatives. The Ming loyalist Mao Xiang 冒襄 (1611–1693), for example, once wrote a short passage recounting how Chen brought him this recipe along with a recommendation letter from his friend He Cide 何次德 (ca. 17th cent.) By then more than sixty years old, Mao's body was extremely weak and he had little confidence in doctors. He recalled that the two times he recovered from almost dying were not because of taking medicine a doctor prescribed but rather the result of his fate. After Chen's visit, his two sons encouraged him to try the recipe, drawing on Chen's successful treatment of He Cide's uncle as well as the moral power of the recipe's original creator, Dong Qichang, who had promoted Mao's writings in his youth. With Mao's approval, his sons collected the substances listed in the recipe and made the elixir themselves. After taking the elixir for less than a month, he reported an improved appetite.[61] Like Chen Xunzhai's "family brothers," he praised Chen for being quite unlike those doctors who only "showcased their techniques" (*xie shu zhe* 挟术者). He wrote that Chen has "deep compassion toward others and a strong belief in saving the world" (*min ren jiu shi zhi xin* 憫人救世之心), and he "learns

[60] Shi Chengjin, "*Chuanjia bao siji*, *juan zhi ba*" in *Chuanjia bao*, 1493-1494.
[61] Mao Xiang, *Chaomin shiwenji* (pr. 1661–1722), *juan* 6, 65-67. Online source: Zhongguo jiben guji ku, Beijing ai ru sheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2009.

medicine according to the principles of the classics and history, and adjusts medicine with sympathy and in accordance with the rules of the society" (*yi jing shi zhi li zhi shi ming yi yi renqing shifa tiao yao* 以經史之理之識明醫以人情世法調藥). Instead of focusing on medical expertise or any medical doctrine, all of these compliments present Chen as a morally apt practitioner of the true way of cultivating life, for which the processing of drugs and making elixirs in a correct way by oneself were essential and integrated dimensions.

From the eighteenth century on, the recipe attracted a wider audience as part of Shi Chengjin's *Chuanjia bao*, which was first published with the title *Three Collections of Family Treasures* (*Jiabao sanji* 家寶三集) in 1739, and which was reprinted in various editions under different titles throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[62] The recipe thus became accessible to a broad audience. Shi's book is an all-inclusive guide to domestic life. It covers topics such as family precepts, reproduction, cultivating longevity, domestic entertainment, and ways of educating children. Shi was a prolific writer, known as a "philanthropist" (*shanren* 善人) from Yangzhou, a city where charitable organizations flourished in the early Qing.[63] He wrote his essays in the vernacular language in order to deliver moral lessons through texts even to the less well educated.[64] Besides providing moral teachings, the book was intended to serve as a daily-use encyclopedia for ordinary households, covering almost all the issues one might encounter in domestic life. Shi's book includes instructions for making elixirs as well as for processing various kinds of foods.

A large part of Shi's collection consists of essays explaining how to live a peaceful, well-regulated, and pleasant domestic life. For instance, in a section titled "All

[62] For a list of editions published in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see You Zi'an, *Shan yu ren tong: Ming Qing yilai de cishan yu jiaohua* (Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2005), 134-135.
[63] See Angela Leung's discussion of Yangzhou's charity organizations in the early Qing. Angela Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming Qing de cishan zuzhi* (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1997), 71-84.
[64] See You Zi'an's discussion of Shi Chengjin's book as a meritorious book. You Zi'an, *Shan yu ren tong: Ming Qing yilai de cishan yu jiaohua*, 131-141.

about human affairs" (*renshi tong* 人事通), Shi Chengjin put together short passages on a host of miscellaneous topics, ranging from the arrangement of household artifacts, to the use of fire, diet and medicines, and guidance on how to prevent theft. It also includes an account of basic morality rules and rituals. In the preface to this section, he noted that the book was a product of his own domestic situation in a small house he built beside Red Bridge, a famous site located outside Yangzhou's city wall. There he enjoyed the natural beauty of the suburban setting from his window where he also observed "human sentiments and the affairs of the world" (*renqing shishi* 人情世事).[65]

Shi's essays identify trivial everyday matters as critical elements of a moral life. By doing things in the proper manner, one could demonstrate morality—and cultivate it. He used examples from his own everyday practice to support his claims. In the preface of an essay titled, "A collection of good skills" (*Duoneng ji* 多能集), Shi argued, "Among all the things in the world, some are good for one to be able to do, and some are not suitable for one to be able to do." Among the former, moral behaviors are the principal ones, and the "miscellaneous matters of daily-use, diet, and clothing in the household" (*jujia riyong yi shi zashi* 居家日用衣食雜事) are also part of moral practice. He continued: "One should do these things as much as possible, the more the better." He recorded those things that "I have done myself which turned out to be effective" (*zishen jing wei dan li shixiao* 自身經為但歷實效), and expressed his hope that others could learn what is good to learn from him.[66] Among these good skills are methods to determine the time, the way to remove evil spells placed on one's house by a carpenter, methods to protect paintings and calligraphy, ways of washing one's hair and face, ways to eat, sleep, and wash one's body, methods to nourish one's eyes, ears, and teeth as well

[65] Shi Chengjin, "*Chuanjia bao erji, juan zhi yi*," in *Chuanjia bao*, 419.
[66] Ibid., 222.

as methods to preserve and process food substances.[67] Making an elixir by oneself for long-term use and to regulate one's bodily condition fits well into this domestic ideal, which emphasizes the proper carrying out of household practices. Shi thus faithfully attached Dong Qichang's recipe, along with the short passages Chen Xunzhai and his "brothers" wrote, after a group of simple recipes that he presented as suitable for the self-treatment of common symptoms in ordinary households.

Shi's book represents a further transfer of literati practice to new and larger audiences. In the late Ming, cultivating longevity became an ideal of domestic life for many literati; by Shi Chengjin's time, these practices were included in vernacular guides to quotidian practice. Enthusiasts in the late Ming became fascinated with studying and processing a wide range of substances at home, including those used in making elixirs. For example, Gao Lian's 高濂 (1573–1620) *Eight Essays on Cultivating Life* (*Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋), which was first published in 1591, introduces making and taking elixirs as an important way to cultivate longevity. Gao Lian divided his book into eight themes. Two of them, the "Chapter on peaceful domestic settings" (*qiju anle jian* 起居安樂箋) and the "Chapter on diet and supplements" (*yinzhuan fushi jian* 飲饌服食箋) detail methods of arranging domestic spaces and furniture as well as that of processing food substances; the "Chapter on divine and secret elixirs and medicines" (*lingmi danyao jian* 靈秘丹藥箋) lists recipes for making elixirs and medicines. All these chapters taught readers to process food, drugs, and other substances with technical details, thus illustrating that regulating life involved one's regular practice of processing substances at home. For example, an entry on the "Dandelion flower quilt" (*puhua ru* 蒲花褥) in the "Chapter on peaceful domestic settings" tells one to do the following:

[67] Ibid., 253-254.

> Collect the dandelion flowers in September, and lightly steam them; if one skips this step, insects will grow later. Dry the flowers under the sun and take those looking like the willow catkins for making bedding quilts or seating pads. Make bags with coarse cloth and stuff the bags fully; beat [the bag] with a whip to make it even…[68]

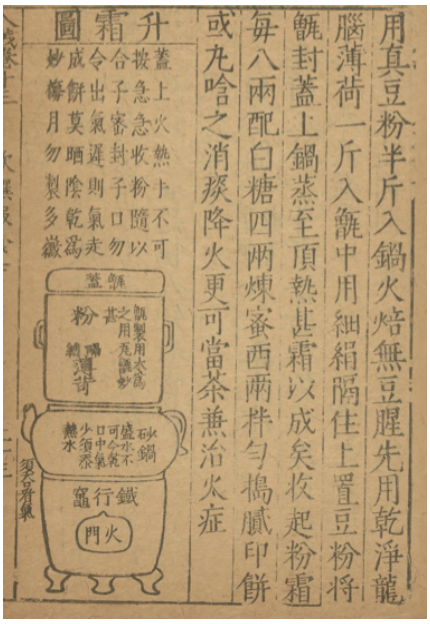
A "Recipe for steaming and refining jade dew powders" (*shenglian yulushuang fang* 升煉玉露霜方) in the "Chapter on diet and supplements" begins as follows:

> Take half a *jin* of good bean powder and roast this in a wok on small fire until the uncooked smell of the bean evaporates. Place one *jin* of menthol into a steamer, cover it with a piece of fine silk, and then put the bean powder on the silk cloth. Cover the steamer and steam. When the cover turns extremely hot, the powder is ready. Collect the powder, and for every eight *liang* of the powder, add four *liang* of sugar and four *liang* of cooked honey; stir until mixed well and pound the mixture until it is even. Press [the mixture] into cakes or pills.[69]

This recipe also includes an "Illustration of steaming the powder" (*shengshuang tu* 升霜圖) showing the required utensils, the setting, the placement of substances, and other details like the use of the fire and ways to observe and keep the vapor. [See Figure 22]. The ways of setting a "fire door" (*huomen* 火门), "portable metal stove" (*tie xingzao* 鐵行竈), "steamer cover" (*zeng gai* 甑蓋), and "coarse clay pot" (*shaguo* 砂鍋), as well as additional advice on the making process as shown in the illustration is comparable to that of making elixirs in alchemy texts in which the word "refine" (*lian* 煉) is the commonly used technical term.

Figure 22 The "Illustration of steaming the powder" in *Zunsheng bajian*[70]

[68] Gao Lian, "*Qiju anle jian*," *xia juan, Zunsheng bajian* (ca. 1573-1620), 11b-12a.
[69] Gao Lian, "*Yinzhuan fushi jian*," *xia juan, Zunsheng bajian*, 23a.
[70] Ibid.



Gao's book illustrates the close connection between life-cultivating practices and alchemy: the attention to techniques in alchemy recipes appeared as essential for the domestic practice of cultivating life. In the "Chapter on divine and secret elixirs and medicines," Gao Lian recorded some recipes of alchemical elixir making, such as the "Secretly transmitted small reverted elixir made of dragon and tiger stones" (*michuan longhushi lian xiaohuandan* 秘傳龍虎石煉小還丹). The term "dragon and tiger stones," which refers to the crystals that remain after processing the urine of boys and girls, strengthens the aura of this recipe. The use of specialized terms like this to refer to substances and methods is typical of alchemical elixir recipes. In this recipe, for example, the description of one of the many ways to process the urine into the "dragon and tiger stones," the only substances required in the recipe, gives the following details on how to set the utensils and cook the urine:

> Select an open space to set up two stoves sitting on the east and facing the west; place two pots [on the stove], one with the width of three point two *chi* and the other with the width of two point four *chi*. Set four water tanks near the pots and fill two or three of them with the dragon and tiger water. After washing away the rust on the pots, add five big bowls [of the water] into the big pot, and boil it

> roughly on small fire until bubbles emerge. Skim off the oil bubbles and continue to boil it until bubbles disappear, and then switch to the small pot to boil carefully…Stir continuously with a shovel until the water turns into an ointment. Cover the pot with a small pot and seal [the rim] with mud, only leaving one hole to allow vapors to come out of the pot. When there are golden sparks and blue smoke coming out from the hole, immediately stuff the hole with mud…Heat the pot on a small fire until its bottom turns into purple; stop the fire and let [the pot] cool down completely. Let it sit overnight…[71]

While there are several sentences explaining what kind of urine to use, instructions like this on the way to set the utensils, use the fire, and observe the changing conditions of the substances constitute the main body of the recipe. Gao Lian placed alchemical elixir recipes like this together in the same chapters with recipes that only require processing a few herbal medicinal substances. All these recipes are practice-oriented, describing in clear detail the steps to make elixirs, pills, or ointments. They introduce specific processing techniques that some late Ming and early Qing male literati, such as Dong, Chen, Mao, and Gao, regarded as necessary for cultivating life. Like the "Secretly transmitted elixir for prolonging longevity," which finally found its way into popular manuals on domestic life, recipes from Gao's chapters also migrated to everyday use encyclopedias. For example, the "Recipe of steaming and refining jade dew powders" including the original illustration of the arrangement of required utensils, migrated into the late Ming daily-use encyclopedia, *A Collection of Ninety-five Kinds of Necessary Texts for Household Use* (*Jujia bibei jiushiwu zhong* 居家必備九十五種).[72]

Literati practitioners of cultivating life were not the only ones who brought these techniques of alchemists into a domestic context. The concern over prolonging longevity as well as the attention to details in the making process rather than knowledge of drug

[71] Gao Lian, "*Lingmi danyao jian*," *shang juan*, *Zunsheng bajian*, 6a-7b.
[72] See for example the inclusion of recipe of "Steaming and refining jade dew powders," in *Jujia bibei jiushiwu zhong*, *juan* 7, "Yinzhuan" (pr. 1621–1644), 4.

properties (as was characteristic of the *materia medica* genre) were typical of "alchemy practices" (*liandan* 炼丹) dating back to as early as the 3rd century BCE. Alchemy enthusiasts showed strong interest in recording details of the "refining" (*lian* 炼) process of substances, like the setting of utensils, the sequence of adding substances, the use of different levels of heat from fire, and the heating time. Alchemists usually kept their skills secret and strictly transmitted them through master-disciple lines. Intending either to "prolong longevity" or "make gold," they envisioned the ideal place for sourcing substances and making elixirs, usually involving heating metal substances for a long time, as an other worldly space. Even in the twentieth century, many alchemists still protected their methods in secrecy by using enigmatic terms or even wrong words to record the name of the substance, its weight, and the making process.[73] But in the Qing, we can find evidence of some physicians who started to express interest in introducing the "secret knowledge" to a broader audience in plain language, as we see in books by those interested in collecting and distributing proven recipes for the use of ordinary households.

An itinerant Daoist master (*fangshi* 方士),[74] Shi Chengzi 師成子, for example, finished his manuscript titled *Secret Recipes of Miraculous Medicines* (*Lingyao mifang* 靈藥祕方) by 1718 in his Guangling Studio (*Guangling jingshe* 廣陵精舍) in Yangzhou.[75] According to Shi's preface and some of his notes to the recipes, Shi traveled to different places to distribute his miraculous elixirs to treat the ill and that he acquired his recipes from at least six persons from several different provinces, such as Liaoning,

[73] For example, Zhang Jueren (1890–1981), an active alchemist from Sichuan summarized his experiences of making elixirs and claimed to publicize previously secret knowledge for the public in the early 1980s. Zhang Jueren, *Zhongguo liandanshu yu danyao* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe), 1981.
[74] Nathan Sivin has investigated the use of the term "*fangshi*" in different historical contexts. He finds that *fangshi* was a not a self-fashioning social identity, but rather a label that literatus biographers gave to those who possessed techniques. *Fangshi* does not necessarily indicate a Daoist affiliation. See Nathan Sivin, "Taoism and Science," *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China: Research and Reflections* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), 27-29; Sivin, Nathan. "On the Word 'Taoist' as a Source of Perplexity, With Special Reference to the Relations of Science and Religion in Traditional China," *History of Religion* 17.3-4 (1978): 303-330.
[75] Shi's dates of birth and death and life experience are unknown. Guangling is an alternative name for Yangzhou.

Shanxi, Shanxi, and Jiangsu.[76] His goal was to accumulate enough merit by way of his good deeds so that he could finally become an immortal, as in the phrase "rise from the ground and ascend to heaven" (*ba zhai er fei sheng* 拔宅而飛升).[77] In 1779, Fang Chengpei 方成培 (1735–1808), who was from a famous medical lineage in She County, Anhui Province, found Shi's manuscript in a Yangzhou bookstore. Weak since childhood, Fang started to study medicine under the guidance of his father and brother early in his life. He also had a close connection to the famous doctor Zheng Meijian 鄭梅澗 (1727–1787), who was also from She County, a hub of the medical tradition known as the Xin'an School, that flourished in the Ming and Qing.[78] Fang found that most of the recipes in Shi's manuscript were unknown to "hereditary doctors" (*shiyi* 世医) and many terms used in these recipes were in a "mysterious language" (*yinyu* 隱語). He criticized Shi for having "kept [his techniques] in secrecy too strictly" (*mi xi guo sheng* 秘惜過甚). He thus "closely examined and corrected" (*xi wan de qi yi er gaizheng* 細玩得其意而改正) the original manuscript to make it more accessible and finally had it published in 1783 with the help of a certain Wang Shengqi 王生奇 in Hankou. In order to attract more readers, Wang published it together with a collection of recipes from another unknown person that he claimed had also been repeatedly proven effective. This is the first time this previously secret text was published for a broad audience. A recipe titled "Elixir for

[76] Not long after finishing editing Shi's original manuscript, Fang Chengpei showed his work to his friend Zheng Meijian, who transcribed a copy of Fang's edited version of Shi's original texts. This manuscript version records the transmission of many of the recipes in Shi's collection. Zheng Rixin, "Zheng Meijian shouxieben lingyao mifang de chubu yanjiu," *Zhongyi wenxian zazhi* 3 (2003): 9-11.
[77] Shi Chengzi, "*Yuanxu*," *Lingyao mifang*, in *Sansan yishu*, Qiu Qingyuan ed., pr. 1924 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1998), 665.
[78] For Fang's biography, see Zheng Rixin, "Xin'an yijia Fang Chengpei zhuan lue," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 2 (1994): 12-14. For Fang's relationship to the Zheng family, see Zheng Rixin, "Fang Chengpei yu Zheng shi houke," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 3 (1994): 175-177. For studies on the medical culture in Xin'an, see Hong Fangdu, ed., *Xin'an yixue shilüe* (Shexian: Shexian huishengju, 1990); Li Jiren, et al., eds., *Xin'an mingyi kao* (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe), 1990.

harmonizing and transforming" (*yun he hua yu dan* 雲和化育丹) starts with a short note on its function and ingredients and then gives a detailed guide on how to make the elixir:

> [It] regenerates flesh. Two *liang* of *qiangxiao* 槍硝 (Mirabilite), one *liang* of *tuoseng* 陀僧 (Lithargyrum), *kufan* 苦矾 (Alumen), and *shuiyin* 水銀 (Hydrargyrum, mercury), respectively. Pound the [*qiang*]*xiao*, *tuo*[*seng*], and [*ku*]*fan* [together] into a powder, mix well, and place [the powder] in a coarse porcelain bowl; press a hole in the center and put *shuiyin* into it. Cover [the bowl] with a small bowl and seal with salty mud. Place a lump of dampened straws at the bottom of the bowl. Place the bricks on some pieces of paper and drive three big iron nails into the ground, surrounding the bowl to build a hundreds-eye stove. Light a fire. When the dampened papers scorch, open [the bowl] to take the miraculous medicine out. Soak it in *gancao* 甘草 (Glycyrrhiza uralensis, Licorice) soup and dry it under the sun before storing it for later use.[79]

Here, the recipe specifies the amount of each ingredient, and more importantly tells the proper way to set the bowls and a hundreds-eye stove. The use of salty mud to seal the bowl and damp straws to help determine the duration of heating are both critical steps that guarantee success.

Elixir recipes from three different textual contexts—like this one originally circulated in a strictly alchemy context, or recipes for making elixirs, food, and medicines in the context of cultivating life, and finally practice-oriented recipes in household handbooks—shared the quality of paying close attention to the technical details of the processing methods required to make them. Boundaries between these three textual contexts were porous. The move of recipes from the former two domains to the latter one indicates an increasingly broad audience for these elixir-making techniques. Popular manuals on cultivating life, like Shi Chengjin's book, transformed recipes that had

[79] Shi Chengzi, *Lingyao mifang*, *xia juan*, in *Sansan yishu*, 679-680.

circulated only within literati networks into publicly shared knowledge. Literati writings on cultivating life, such as those of Gao Lian, situated elixir making as an indispensable practice in an ideal way of domestic life. Physician-scholars, such as Fang Chengpei who drew on alchemical sources for the techniques of making medicines, also served as translators who brought formerly secret knowledge to a broader audience; People like Wang Shengqi, who apparently had more of the social resources and connections needed to make publication possible, also contributed to bringing such technical recipes into a wider realm of circulation. Thus, after the late Ming, practices once limited to literati and alchemists gradually became part of a domestic life that anyone could pursue with the help of daily-use encyclopedias and recipe collections. These sources presented the processing of food and drug substances as an important part of ordinary people's domestic life as well. Recipes that instructed people on what they could (and should) do at home, rather than just explaining the properties of drugs, emphasized the recipes' moral and cultural significance as well as medical utility.

Techniques for Treating Wounds and Sores

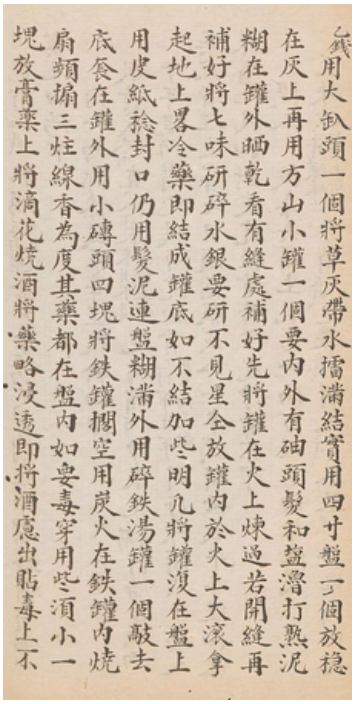
Like the recipes in the *Survey* cited above, many recipes in other late-Qing recipe collections that provide detailed drug-processing instructions are for treating external ailments. Some of them were created by medical experts, and others were recorded by non-specialists. Late Ming physicians interested in external medicine already included recipes that were especially rich in technical details. These recipes became instructions for non-experts to use in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, when people of all walks of life circulated and collected recipes for home use. For example, a late-Qing official collected a recipe titled "Number-one immortal's recipe for lifting the root, extracting toxins, removing the decayed, and regenerating new flesh" (*ti ben ba du qu fu sheng ji diyi xia fang* 提本拔毒去腐生肌肉第一仙方) for treating sores in his medical notebook, *A Collection of Superlative Recipes* (*Jiye liangfang* 集腋良方). The recipe includes

detailed descriptions of the drug-making processes similar to those found in the previously discussed alchemy texts.[80] But unlike the mysterious aura and the use of secret terms in many earlier alchemy texts, it relates details in plain language in order to transmit the skills without any ambiguity. After a list of ingredients, for instance, it gives the following instructions:

> Fully fill a tank with the mixture of *caohui* 草灰 (grass ashes) and water and press hard; place a four-*cun* wide plate on top of the *caohui*. Take a small glazed *fangshan* jar (*fangshan guan* 方山罐). Pound hair and *yanlu* 鹽滷 (brine) into fine mud and apply [the mixture] thoroughly on the outside surface of the jar, and let it dry in the sun. Fill the cracks if there are any. Heat the jar over the fire. If there are any further cracks, fill again. Grind all seven ingredients into small pieces until [one] cannot see any separate drops of *shuiyin* 水銀 (mercury) [in the mixture]. Put the mixture into the jar and heat until it boils rapidly; remove from the fire and place [the jar] on the floor to let it cool down a little bit. The medicine should coagulate on the bottom of the jar at this point. If it does not coagulate, add some *mingfan* 明矾 (Alumen) and place the jar upside down on the plate. Seal the rim with bast-fiber[81] paper, and then cover the jar and the plate with the hair-mud mixture. Take off the bottom of a broken iron soup pot and use it to close the jar. Place four pieces of small bricks at the bottom of the iron pot in order to raise it [above the *caohui*-water mixture]. Add coals into the iron pot and blow frequently for the duration of burning three sticks of incense. The medicines should all be on the plate.[82] [See Figure 23].

Figure 23 Part of the description of technical details in the recipe of "Number-one immortal's recipe for lifting the root, extracting toxins, removing the decayed, and regenerating new flesh" in *A Collection of Superlative Recipes*[83]

[80] *Jiye liangfang*, 133-135.
[81] Fibrous material from the phloem of a plant, used as fiber in matting, cord, etc.
[82] *Jiye liangfang*, 134.
[83] Ibid., 134.



These instructions present the handling of the utensils as a critical factor for the successful making of the medicine: how to place the tank, plate, and jar, and how to seal cracks. The recipe even provides an alternative method if the first attempt fails.

The recipe "Elixir made of three immortality substances" (*sanxian dan* 三仙丹), which was recorded in the manuscript titled *Superlative Recipes That Have Proven Effective* (*Yingyan liangfang* 應驗良方), and likely written down by a physician named Song Mingyang (ca. 19th cent.), starts with an all-inclusive statement of the efficacy of the elixir:

> [It] cures all kinds of sores and toxins; uproots toxins, removes the decayed, draws out the pus, and closes up the wound in cases of ulcers; turns black and purple hard sores into a lively red color, regenerates the skin, and promotes the growth of new flesh.[84]

[84] *Yingyan liangfang*, 17. Slg. Unschuld 8082.

After listing its three main ingredients: *shuiyin* 水銀 (mercury), *huoxiao* 火硝 (Nitrum, Niter), and *mingfan* 明矾 (Alumen, Potassium alum), the recipe describes the way to make the elixir in a long detailed paragraph:

> First grind the *xiao* and *fan* into powders; put them into a pot and press a hole on it; place the *shuiyin* into the hole. Use fingers to restore the top [of the powders]. Place one piece of *jinjingshi* 金精石 (Vermiculus, Vermiculite) large or small at each of the five directions. The method is to put one piece of *jingshi* (Vermiculite) on the east side of the medicine and recite: "The east direction, *jia*, *yi*, *wei*"[85]… After this, take a big bowl and rub it with raw ginger inside and out so that it will not burst and is easy to use; [use it] to cover [the pot]. Use dampened double-layer papers to seal the rim, and then use the mixture of *guangfen* 光粉 (Plumbi Carbonas, White lead) and raw-plaster water to strengthen [the seal]. Further add a big steelyard[86] on top of the bowl. Place red-hot coals under the pot. Within the duration of burning one stick of incense, gradually increase to high heat. Increase to an even higher heat for another duration of burning one stick of incense. Continue heating for another duration of burning one stick of incense until the coals cool down by themselves. Scrub off the immortal elixirs, wrap them carefully, and then put them on the floor to [allow] their heat toxin to evaporate.[87]

While the recipe requires only three ingredients, one must know the way to handle the utensils: a pot, a big bowl, double-layered papers, and a steelyard as well as other substances needed during the production process: ginger, *jingshi*, *guangfen*, raw-plaster water, and coals. It is the unique production process, rather than just the combination of

[85] "Jia," "yi," and "wei" refer to three of the twelve terrestrial branches.
[86] An apparatus for weighing that has a short arm taking the item to be weighed and a long graduated arm along which a weight is moved until it balances.
[87] *Yingyan liangfang*, 17-18.

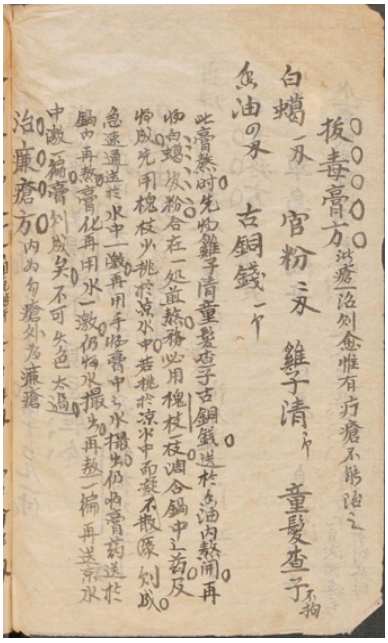
the right ingredients based on their properties as one finds in the more formal recipe literature, that is emphasized here as determining the success of this recipe.

Manuscripts written by some itinerant doctors also include recipes for treating sores. The late-Qing manuscript *A Miscellaneous Transcription of Medicines and Talismans* (*Yaofu zachao* 藥符雜抄), which an itinerant doctor named Yuan Zhancai 袁占財 (ca. 19th cent.) wrote,[88] records several recipes for treating sores with detailed guides on the drug-making process. In a recipe titled "Ointment recipe for removing toxins" (*badu gaofang* 拔毒膏方) he wrote:

> When brewing this ointment, first put the egg whites, strands of children's hair, and ancient copper coins into the sesame oil and bring to a boil. Then add *baila* 白□ (a white-colored insect)[89] and *guanfen* 官粉 (Plumbi Carbonas, white lead) into [the mixture] and brew. [One] must use a locust tree branch to mix the drugs in the pot. When it is about ready, first take [some mixture] out with the tip of the branch and place it in cold water. If the mixture stays together and does not spread in the water, then it is ready. Quickly put the mixture into water for a short time, and squeeze out excessive water in the ointment with one's hands. Put the ointment back into the pot to brew again. When the ointment softens, put it into water again, and squeeze out excessive water again. Brew and put into cold water once more. Then the ointment is ready to use. It should not be over-cooked.[90] [See Figure 24].

Figure 24 "Ointment recipe for drawing out toxins" in *A Miscellaneous Transcription of Medicines and Talismans*

[88] This manuscript also records recipes using talismans to treat illness, a common repository of itinerant doctors.
[89] It's unclear what kind of insect this drug is.
[90] *Yaofu zachao*, 6-7. Slg. Unschuld 8822.



Yuan recorded his personal experience of making this ointment to take out toxins in plain language.

It is not a coincidence that all of these technically detailed recipes in the late-Qing manuscripts treat external illnesses. Recipes for medicines to treat external maladies often emphasized the drug-making process, rather than the proper combination of drugs on the basis of their properties. We can observe this characteristic in some late-Ming medical works, which present a structural difference between recipes for treating illnesses caused by internal problems, such as the "Cold Damage" (*shanghan* 傷寒) diseases, and those for treating external problems, like the "sores and toxins" (*zhongdu* 肿毒). There are examples of this in the *Expanded Notes from the Studio of First Enlightened* (*Xianxing zhai guang biji* 先醒齋廣筆記, preface date 1622), which is attributed to the late-Ming physician Miu Xiyong 繆希雍 (1546–1627). The book was originally a collection of Miu's medical notes, which his followers later expanded. It highlights Miu's rich healing experience, recording a large number of cases he treated. It also includes claims regarding the importance of the proper way to process drugs. At the end of the book, the

compilers list the ways to process about four hundred drugs according to the "Thunder Master" (Lei Gong 雷公) literature as well as a summary of the general rules of making different forms of medicines: decoctions, pills, ointments, elixirs, and powders.[91] Recipes for treating internal problems usually start with an analysis of the causes of the illness and then give a list of ingredients, listing the processing method of each of them under individual drug names. This arrangement implies that the combination of drugs, with each of them properly processed, and thus having their desired properties correctly cultivated, provides a solution to the bodily problems analyzed at the beginning. In contrast, recipes for external use usually start directly with a list of ingredients, or even have no such list at all. The main part of these recipes is comprised of instructions on specific steps to make the drug, and sometimes also how to apply it; the specificity of the drug-making process itself rather than the properties of its ingredients validates the reliability of the recipe. The key is not to bring out the abstract properties of each drug (as in the *materia medica* genre), but rather to correctly process all the ingredients into one ideal final product.

Hereditary doctors who specialized in external medicine also valued the transmission of the skills of making medicines within their families.[92] For instance, in his *A Comprehensive Book for External Medicine* (*Waike dacheng* 外科大成, 1665), Qi Kun 祁坤 (ca. 1610–1690) records a recipe explicitly stated as transmitted in his family under the title "A recipe of western sage ointment transmitted in the family" (*jiachuan xisheng gaofang* 家傳西聖膏方). The recipe claims to cure a wide range of illnesses including all

[91] Miu Xiyong, *Xianxing zhai guangbiji* (a.p. 1662), *juan* 4 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1973), 1-61.

[92] Yi-Li Wu has discussed how a physician specialized in treating injury named Hu Tingguang 胡廷光 (active during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) promoted the validity of his book, *A Compilation of Collected Teachings on the Curriculum of Injury Medicine* (*Shangke huizuan* 傷科彙纂, pref. 1815), through emphasizing the secret transmission of healing techniques within his family. See Yi-Li Wu, "A Trauma Doctor's Practice in Nineteenth-Century China: the Medical Cases of Hu Tingguang," *Social History of Medicine* August (2016): 1-24; "Between the Living and the Dead: Trauma Medicine and Forensic Medicine in the mid-Qing," *Frontiers of History in China*, 10.1 (2015): 38-73.

kinds of "chronic sores and toxins" (*wan chuang jie du* 頑瘡結毒). Compared to many of his other recipes, this one is especially rich in technical details.[93] The phrase "Recipes transmitted within the family" (*jiachuan fang* 家傳方) or "Recipes stored in the Family" (*jiacang fang* 家藏方) could refer to inherited recipes transmitted within a hereditary medical family from earlier times. The Song recipe collections, *Recipes from the Yang Family* (*Yangshi jiacang fang* 楊氏家藏方, first published in 1178) and *Recipes from the Wei Family* (*Weishi jiacang fang* 魏氏家藏方, first published in 1227), for example, attest to this family transmission. These two collections both organized recipes into sections for treating different symptoms. For example, the latter one has sections on "Headache and Head Wind" (*toutong toufeng* 頭痛頭風), Cold Damage diseases, and "Phlegm Retention" 痰飲 (*tanyin*).[94] Recipes in this collection also give details of the drug-making process because these hereditary doctors were probably also the ones who actually made their own medicines at the time, and thus they recorded such details as expert knowledge passed down within their families.

Medical works specializing in external medicine started to present similar types of practice-oriented recipes for household use in the early nineteenth century. In 1805, Gao Bingjun 高秉鈞 (1755–1827), a renowned doctor from Xishan, finished an exemplary medical book of this type titled *A Collection of Thoughts on External Medicine* (*Yangke xinde ji* 瘍科心得集). The book begins with a theoretically rich explanation on approaches to the treatment of wounds and sores, and then gives a collection of recipes selected from existing authoritative medical texts. At the end of the book, Gao attaches a separate section titled "Recipes for ointments, elixirs, pills, and powders for household

[93] Qi Kun, *Waike dacheng* (Chongwen tang, 1665), *juan* 1.
[94] Wei Xian, *Weishi jiacangfang*, reprinted in *Beijing Daxue Tushuguan guancang Shanben Yishu (yi)* (Beijing: zhongyi guji chubanshe), 1987.

use" (*jiayong gao dan wan san fang* 家用膏丹丸散方).[95] While many of the recipes in the preceding recipe collections only list the required substances and briefly introduce the drug-making process, most recipes in this section describe in detail the specific steps to make the medicine. For example, the first recipe in this section, the "Red Rising Elixir" (*hongsheng dan* 紅升丹), with the alternative title "Elixir made of three immortal substances" (*sanxian dan* 三仙丹) instructs one to do the following:

> First grind the *xiaofan* 硝矾 (Niter and Potassium alum) into small pieces and put [them] into an iron pot; make a small hole in the center and pour the *shuiyin* (mercury) into it, and cover it with the *xiaofan*. Cover the pot with a porcelain bowl and use some cotton papers to stuff the rim of the bowl, then seal it with salt-mud, and fill in sand around the bowl, only leaving its bottom uncovered. Put some new cotton on the bottom of the bowl and place a metal-brick on top of it. First heat [the pot] on a small fire for the duration of burning one stick of incense to melt the *xiaofan*, and then heat on a big fire for the duration of burning one stick of incense, until the cotton on the bottom of the bowl turns black. If [the cotton] does not scorch, heat for another duration of burning half a stick of incense. Take the pot away from the heat and open it after it cools down. Store the scratched-off elixirs in a porcelain bottle, and use [them] after their fiery heat dissipates.[96]

This recipe appeared in many late Qing manuscripts as a basic recipe for treating sores; another version of it can be found in the *Superlative Recipes That Have Been Proven Effective* previously discussed. The utensils used in these two versions of the recipe, however are different: here the recipe asks for an iron pot, a porcelain bowl, some cotton

[95] Gao Bingjun, "*Jiayong gaodan wansan fang*," *Shangke linzheng xindeji*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (1016) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 204-218.
[96] Gao Bingjun, "*Jiayong gaodan wansan fang*," *Shangke linzheng xindeji*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (1016), 205.

paper, and a metal-brick, compared to the ones specified in the manuscript, which include a pot, a big bowl, double-layered papers, and a steelyard. Such subtle differences in description of technical details testify that these recipes were records of the actual experience of different individuals making the elixir, rather than merely formal textual knowledge being repeatedly transcribed.

In the late Qing, technically detailed recipes for treating sores commonly appeared in recipe collections intended to be used in ordinary households in the form of manuscripts, like the case of *A Collection of Superlative Recipes* discussed above. Knowledge that previously had been reserved for experts entered into these new contexts of domestic use. Medical techniques spread from the exclusive purview of hereditary medical families to ordinary households. In the Berlin manuscripts, we can also find some recipe collections explicitly using the spatial terms "stored in the household" (*jiacang* 家藏) or "for household use" (*jiayong* 家用) in their titles. The manuscript *Mr. Chen's Recipes Stored at Home* (*Chenshi jiacang fang* 陳氏家藏方), was written carefully and kept in good condition; it probably was transmitted and preserved within the Chen family. More than half of the recipes in the manuscript were medicines for treating "sores and wounds" (*yong ju chuang shang* 癰疽瘡傷). At the end of the manuscript, there was a set of recipes for non-medical uses: tips for arranging beds at home, a charm for killing bed bugs, a recipe to treat skin infections in cats, an entry on how to silence a sounding wok, and ways to wash away various kinds of stains on clothes.[97] The inclusion of these strategies and recipes suggests that the writer created the manuscript for household use from his own experience.

The late-Qing manuscript, *Marvelous Recipes Stored at Home* (*Jiacang qifang* 家藏奇方), similarly contains mainly recipes of external medicine that detail how to make

[97] *Chenshi jiacang fang*, 27-28. Slg. Unschuld 48957.

ointments and elixirs. For example, a recipe for an "Ointment for drawing out toxins" (*badu gao* 拔毒膏) describes the sequence of adding and processing the ingredients: "First boil the *danggui* 當歸 (Angelica sinensis, Chinese Angelica) and the other four ingredients in oil until scorched; remove the residue, add the pig hair into the oil and boil until scorched; strain [the oil] until clear and boil the oil. Add heated *huangdan*, and then add *moyao* and *ruxiang*…."[98] Collecting and keeping recipes at home sometimes even became a family project lasting for several generations. A manuscript titled *A Record of Pills and Medicines* (*Wanyao bu* 丸藥簿) was clearly a family project that was first started in 1893 and subsequently extended into the mid-twentieth century.[99]

From personal recipe notebooks, such as *A Collection of Superlative Recipes*, to the many recipe books created to be used in one's own household, recipes for treating wounds and sores appeared as a genre of household documents recording and transmitting domestic healing techniques. For the textual form and technical language, they drew on existing sources written by medical experts, but they also provide evidence of healing skills being transmitted beyond the realm of doctors, and documented the trials and practices of whomever, male or female, made the medicines in their own homes. The transmission of these recipes in manuscripts indicates that treating wounds and sores was a major everyday health concern that was recorded in ordinary households in the Qing. Solving these health problems required the use of everyday utensils, tools, and substances but often in complex technical ways. Since these specific skills served as a source for establishing the validity of the recipes, meticulously recording and transmitting technical details not only became desirable for medical experts but also newly accessible to common people through practice-oriented recipes.

Conclusion

[98] *Jiacang qifang*, 28-29. Slg. Unschuld 8159.
[99] *Wanyao bu*. Slg. Unschuld 8670.

During the late Ming and Qing, practice-oriented recipes circulated as a kind of practical-use literature. They highlighted technical details and circulated in both print and manuscript. The healing skills they introduced drew upon everyday domestic practices and sometimes also required the personal quality of piety or sincerity, suggesting a connection to books on ritual and meritorious works. The richness and diversity in these practice-oriented recipes testify to the complex textual contexts that informed this new trend. The two types of textual sources on "cultivating life" (*yangsheng*) and "external medicine" (*waike*) contributed the basic format and technical language in the form of a recipe to this new domestic knowledge, and also shaped its practical orientation and emphasis on technical details. The techniques of making medicines thereby travelled via recipes across the porous boundary between expert and non-expert texts. Previously expert knowledge became available to a wider audience through the practice-oriented recipes. To fully understand the dynamism between the various kinds of texts that brought about the domestication of practice-oriented recipes, in the next chapter, I will turn to examine the social and textual contexts in the late Ming and Qing that functioned to facilitate the circulation of recipes and, in turn, assigned new meanings to recipes as a genre of domestic literature.

Chapter Three: Recipes as Vernacular Texts

> A monk named Zijiu at Xianhua temple outside the Little South Gate of the Wuchang County seat grew ill and did not recover even after taking hundreds of medicines. When he was about to die, he told his disciple: "I guess there must be something bedeviling me (*you wu wei sui* 有物為祟). Open my body for an autopsy after I die." His disciple did [as he said] and found a bone in the shape of a hairpin. He placed it on the scripture desk for others to see. The next year a general was staying at the temple. His servant set out to kill a goose but was unable to cut open its throat. [The servant] happened to see the bone and thus took it to pierce [the skin of the goose]. Blood spouted over and the bone melted. [Later,] Zijiu's disciple also had the problem of belching and then realized that goose blood could cure the illness (since it had melted the bones). After drinking [uncooked goose blood] several times, he recovered. He showed the recipe to many people and it always proved effective.[1]

This eye-catching story about a chronically ill monk, the dissection of his corpse, an odd hairpin-shaped bone, and spurting goose blood constitutes the major part of a recipe to heal belching, which Gaoyangshi transcribed in his *Survey*. This "Recipe for treating belching" has only an additional short sentence at its beginning stating the recipe's method: "Drinking uncooked goose blood several times will cure" (*yin sheng exue shuci jiyu* 飲生鵝血數次即愈). The recipe is anonymous, and the instructions offer no special information about techniques or drug knowledge; rather, it is the story that occupies center stage in the recipe. This story was originally recorded by Niu Xiu 鈕琇 (ca. 1644–1704) in his story collection the *Miscellaneous Records* (*Hu sheng* 觚剩, pref. 1700).[2] It then subsequently appeared in literati writings and recipe books under various titles through the nineteenth century.[3] Here, Gaoyangshi, or the author of his source text,

[1] "Recipe for treating belching," *Yifang bianlan*, 255.
[2] The title of this story in Niu Xiu's book is "The monk from the Blooming Flower Temple" (*Xianhua si seng* 獻花寺僧). When he compiled the book, Niu Xiu was serving as the magistrate of the Gaoming County in Guangzhou. Niu Xiu, "Hu sheng zixu," *Hu sheng* (Linye tang, early 18th cent.), 1-2; *Hu sheng*, *juan* 8, 5a-5b.
[3] For example, the recipe appeared in Wang Shizhen's 王士禛 (1634–1711) *Records of the Orchid* (*Xiangzu biji* 香祖筆記, compiled between 1702–1704, first printed in 1705), *A Collection of Efficacious and Good Recipes* (*Lingyan liangfang huibian* 靈驗良方匯編, 1729) authored by a person who only left

added a line of medical instructions at the beginning–and rendered the anecdote into a recipe.

Starting from the late Ming and throughout the Qing, individual recipes like this traveled among recipe collections, collections of literati miscellaneous notes, fiction, and commonplace books, and in these various forms were also shared among friends and relatives as potentially useful and often entertaining. The inclusion of stories testifies to the generic fluidity of recipes: are they instructions for the production of medicine? Information bearing documents for healers? Are they intended to entertain, shock, or amuse? And how do the author's goals or social position relate to choices regarding form, whether manuscript or print, and genre? Circulation not only changed the format and content of recipes, but also enabled recipes to traverse the boundary between medical writing and domestic practice. To collect and use recipes at home, one peered into the enticing textual world of vernacular literature, while at the same time imagining a familiar social world connected by local personal ties, and operating according to the rules of reward and retribution.

As demonstrated in chapter two, ordinary people increasingly used "practice-oriented recipes" for healing at home. Specifically, writings on elixir making and recipes for healing sores proved especially rich in technical knowledge about making and applying medicine. Some of these recipes could be strictly classified as medical texts, but many of them appeared in non-medical contexts, especially fiction. Vernacular texts in the late imperial period incorporated miscellaneous representations of daily life and combined varied textual forms into one piece of work. This porousness in genres indicates a habit of extensive and random reading, and blurs the boundary between

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his studio name "Studio among the fields" (Tianjian laishi an 田間來是庵), under the title "Recipe for treating belching with goose blood" (*e xie zhi ye fang* 鵝血治噎方), and Liang Zhangju's *The Third Collection of Casual Chats While Roaming Around* (*Langji santan* 浪跡三談), with the title "Treating belching with Goose blood" (*E xie zhi* ye 鵝血治噎). Wang Shizhen, *Xiangzu biji*, in *Siku quanshu*, *juan* 3,25a; Tianjian laishi an, *Lingyan liangfang huibian*, 1729 (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1986), 26; Liang Zhangju, *Langji santan*, 1857, reprinted in *Langji congtan xutan santan*, ed. Chen Tiemin 陳鐵民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 505.

literary, technical, entertaining, and moral activities.[4] The migration of medical recipes into genres other than medical ones represents a new characteristic of the production and circulation of health care knowledge which also started in the late Ming in conjunction with the expansion of legitimate medical knowledge beyond medical experts. In this chapter, I will show that vernacular literature, primarily daily-use encyclopedias and fiction, became an important vehicle for the circulation of practice-oriented recipes. The proliferation of recipes into new genres and texts challenged the expertise claimed by doctors and allowed common people to imagine themselves as legitimate testers of medical knowledge. Among readers of popular fiction and within lived social networks of readers and practitioners, recipes helped to strengthen social bonds. Anyone with some level of literacy could work on recipes to make a medicine for self-treatment, send recipes or homemade medicines out as gifts, and distribute them in order to accumulate merit socially, morally, and karmically.

Starting in the late Ming and throughout the Qing, recipes increasingly gained legitimacy through the making of medicine by ordinary people and by virtue of frequent representation in vernacular texts as solutions to practical problems. As a result, these recipes reached a broader audience. At the same time, recipes were part of a moral discourse of merit accumulation; texts frequently portrayed recipes as a medium for the performance of "good works" (*shan* 善). Collectability became a major attribute of recipes as well; personal networks, vernacular literature, and local shops served as important channels for the circulation of individual recipes. The origins of some of these recipes became integrated into their names thereby giving them social significance within

[4] Shang Wei discusses the incoporation of a broad range of texts and genres, such as popular songs, jokes, and plays, in the narrative of *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jin Ping Mei Cihua* 金瓶梅詞話). Based on this case study, he argues that fragmented narrative, inserted geners, and borrowed texts were characteristic of the late Ming print culture. See "'Jin Ping mei' and Late Ming Print Culture," in *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, Canbridge, eds. Judith Zeitlin, Lydia Liu, and Ellen Widmer (Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 187-238. Andrew Schonebaum discusses the literary quality of medical knowledge resulting from the textual overlap between novel and medical text. See Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

their authors' personal networks rather than within a medical lineage or appeals to classical medical authority. When local elites promoted the circulation of texts, such as precious scrolls and meritorious books through charitable organizations and personal networks, as good deeds for accumulating merit and reforming social order, recipes for healing illness became socially significant texts bearing moral and religious meanings.[5]

The flourishing of vernacular texts and social networks supported household-centered knowledge production via the textual form of the recipe. Related domestic practices were supported by a flourishing pharmaceutical marketplace but at the same time inspired a counter discourse that questioned the reliability of the market. To make medicine at home was safer, better, more practical, and even bore moral value. Healing techniques at home also satisfied some healing needs in rural areas that were out of reach of the urban market. Circulating in popular literature, recipes manifested both practical and literary qualities; domestic healing techniques formed part of a broader textual discourse in genres–such as formularies, encyclopedias, and fiction–of collectable, practical, and, even entertaining household skills. While some recipes present men as the only ones qualified to make medicine, vernacular literature including fiction tended to blur the boundary between women and men as holders of domestic healing skills.

New Meanings of "Proven" (*yan* 驗) and "Recipes" (*fang* 方)

The emphasis on the practice of making medicine in recipes signals a new trend in the formulary genre that highlighted experience rather than textual study starting in the sixteenth century. It also reflected a new pattern in the production and circulation of recipes in a world full of all kinds of vernacular texts. The change in the constitution and use of recipes happened when recipes traveled out of specialized medical texts authored

[5] Tobie Meyer-Fong has discussed the significance of texts in shaping social order in the eyes of local elites through a case study of Yu Zhi's (1809–1874) life. See *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 21-64. Yi-Li Wu discusses medical amatuers' as well as a broad range of people's participation in printing and distributing popular gyneacology text for merit accumulation in the Qing. Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 75-81.

by physicians into popular recipe books, fiction, almanacs, and daily-use encyclopedias intended for household use.

In Chinese medical culture, the most influential recipe tradition was built on the work of the Han physician Zhang Ji 張機, styled Zhongjing 仲景 (ca. 150–219 CE), who provided the earliest systematic articulation of a theory-oriented understanding of drug formulas. In the *Treatise on Cold Damage and Miscellaneous Disorders* (*Shanghan zabinglun* 傷寒雜病論, 210), Zhang designated drugs in a recipe as analogous to a ruler and his officials,[6] and linked recipes to a new conceptualization of disease based on a "differentiation of syndromes" (*bianzheng* 辯證). The recipe presents a modular structure corresponding to a limited number of syndromes, which reveal underlying patterns of illness rather than specific symptoms.[7] Zhang's work served as a core text through which elite physicians from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century constructed new ideas regarding the human body and illness.[8] It also established a prototype for later recipes that usually have been categorized by historians as complex formulas, which usually required adjustment according to the condition of individual bodies, and which also were associated with elite medical practice. Another important characteristic of formulas employed by elite physicians in the late imperial period was the assignment of drugs on the basis of the association between the bodily conditions and the properties of drugs according to yin/yang and Five Phases theories, a legacy of the *materia medica* literature

[6] The earliest text that presents this idea about the structure of recipe is the *Suwen* from the Warring States period. Paul Unschuld argues that this approach represents a modular nature, which could also be observed in many other arenas of Chinese culture during this period, such as that of architecture and writing. See Unschuld and Zheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing*, 28-29. Lothar Ledderose first discussed the modular principle in Chinese art, see Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[7] See Unschuld and Zheng's discussion about the distinction between simple and complex formula. Unschuld and Zheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing*, 21-32.
[8] For a recent reconsideration of the role Zhang Ji's work played from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century in physician's innovations in the reinterpretation of human body and medical practice in China, Japan, and Korea, see articles by Volker Scheid, Keiko Daidoji, Eric I. Karchmer, and Soyoung Suh in the special issue *Asian Medicine Tradition and Modernity: Transformations of the Treatise on Cold Damage in East Asia,* 8.2 (2015).

from the Song-Jin-Yuan period. Later elite physicians drew on this association to explain the selection of drugs in a recipe and the effect of selected drugs on a specific individual.[9]

While the modular construction of recipes and assignment of drugs according to the association between bodily conditions and drug properties was no doubt influential, it might not have been the only way or even the most popular way recipes were understood from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Marta Hanson and Gianna Pomata's study has shown that elite medical writings from the mid-sixteenth century, most notably Wang Ji's 汪机 (1463–1539) *Stone Mountain Medical Case Histories* (*Shishan yi'an* 石山醫案, 1531), record individualized prescriptions in medical case histories, turning the recipe into an epistemic genre. As they argue, there was a bifurcation in the development of recipes in China into two distinct genres as there was in Europe: the formula and the prescription. The former presented a standard formula that was often reproduced through commentaries on canonical texts without much variation over time; the latter was a recipe for a specific patient.[10] I argue further that, starting in the seventeenth century and beyond physician-authored medical texts, practice-oriented recipes represent a trend that further diverged away from the tradition of standard formulas and formularies, testifying to a growing reliance on and interest in experience in the production of healing knowledge in vernacular texts. Moreover, circulating more as a vernacular text rather than in elite medical writings, practice-oriented recipes contributed to knowledge production and communication among common people. With recipes, ordinary people gained knowledge of healing techniques that could be carried out and tested by non-experts. In this new context, the meaning of both "*yan*" ("proven") and "*fa*" ("methods") changed to signify the actual healing experience and methods in the commoners' households rather than in the physician's clinics or by physicians in their clients' homes.

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[9] On the basis of *bencao* literature from this period, scholars have argued for a merge between the knowledge of pharmacology and the ideology of systematic correspondence. For a discussion of representive texts, see Paul Unschuld, *Medicine In China: A History of Pharmaceutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 85-101.

[10] Hanson and Pomata, "Medicinal Formulas and Experiential Knowledge in the Seventeenth-century Epistemic Exchange between China and Europe," 2-5.

Whereas standard formulas were reproduced through textual annotation, practice-oriented recipes were to be collected and validated through testing. Recipe books usually adopt some well-known formulary literature, like the officially "compiled formulas" (*jufang* 局方) from the Song dynasty or writings of famous doctors, but they are also open to any presumably useful sources, like recipes from temples, local shops, friends, fiction, and popular booklets. Recipe books produced from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century show increasing attention to "reliable" methods of making medicines, rather than reasoned theoretical combinations of drugs.[11] This change corresponds to a rising literati interest in combining textual knowledge with knowledge gained through experience, which was evidenced in a variety of genres, like frontier travel writings and *materia medica* works in this period.[12] Changes in recipe books after the seventeenth century, especially the inclusion of recipes with technical details about the process of making medicine and the emphasis on validating the reliability of a recipe through experience, were also part of this intellectual and cultural turn.

The technical details mark an essential difference in approach between practice-oriented recipes and standard formulary literature. In practice-oriented recipes, instructional passages occupy the central place in a recipe and describe the correct methods to process and combine drugs listed in the recipe. This emphasis on practice was missing in formulas that built upon careful and abstract consideration of the relationship between the properties of each drug. Take for example the previously mentioned all-purpose ointment in *A Convenient Survey of Medical Recipes* (*Yifang bianlan* 醫方遍覽).

[11] The systematic correspondence theory was integrated into *materia medica* literature during the Song-Jin-Yuan period. Medicine of systematic correspondence on the basis of the Confucian and Legalist worldview required choosing pharmaceutical substances according to the quality of the substances, which was expected to correspond to the analysis of bodily conditions. Complex formulas and prescriptions in literati doctors' writings usually embraced this theory-based understanding of drugs.
[12] For frontier writings, see Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); For *materia medica* writings, see Bian He, *Assembling the Cure*, 2014.

It first introduces symptoms that the ointment can cure, lists the drugs with their respective quantities, and then it explains how to prepare it:

> Cut the sixty five drugs listed on the right and the seven kinds of tree branches into medium size and soak them in twelve *jin* of sesame oil for three days in summer, five days in spring, seven days in autumn, or ten days in winter; boil the remainder until the oil turns dark, strain it with a piece of linen cloth, and store it in a porcelain container; melt some pieces of resin in a clean pot and add the medicinal oil, pair every two *jin* of resin with four *liang* of medicinal oil; test the hardness of water and strain the mixture into the water tub; rub the mixture until it turns golden in color.[13]

Some recipes do not even list the drugs to be used but start directly with instructions. A recipe for curing an eye problem collected by an author from Wutai Mountain, for example, starts directly with the technical process: "Burn five *qian* of mulberry bark into ashes on the stove. Heat the ashes in a tea cup of water to the point right before boiling, and wait until cools down and becomes clear; use it to wash the eyes for one year."[14] These instructions privilege the ways in which drugs are processed and mixed together as the most critical factor for the success of a recipe, instead of emphasizing the well-considered combination of drugs as was the case in elite medical writings.

Even though there was a growing tendency to emphasize experience and "testing" in medical recipes staring in the mid-sixteenth century, we see some variations in the use of "*yan*" ("proven") during the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. In elite physician's works such as Wang Ji's (1463–1539) *Stone Mountain Medical Case Histories* (*Shishan yi'an* 石山醫案, 1531), the value of experience or "*yan*", which comes from the physician's clinical practice, lies in adjusting standard formulas according to the individual condition of the patient. Listing a prescription for each

[13] *Yifang bianlan*, 212-215.
[14] Ibid., 269.

medical case, Wang's work prioritizes the analysis of the symptoms and their causes. The effectiveness of the prescription was established through an implied correspondence between the properties of drugs and the condition of the patient. In this case, each recipe embodies the doctor's clinical experience of what specific combination of drugs have been proved effective. Whereas Wang's *Medical Case Histories* only uses the verbs "decoct and take" (*jianfu* 煎服) or "make pills and take" (*wanfu* 丸服) to describe the drug-making process in most cases,[15] practice-oriented recipes in vernacular texts including the *Survey* instead stress the process of making the medicine.[16] In these texts, "*yan*" ("proven") refers to the effectiveness of a set of drugs or substances, as well as the specific way to prepare the medicine. It means that the cure has been carried out and proven to be effective by means of a particular method of preparation, directions for which are provided in detail, and which can be followed by virtually anyone and for use by anyone suffering from the symptoms described in the recipe.

This variation in the meaning of "*yan*" has roots in the different textual contexts in which medical recipes appeared. Wang Ji's theory-oriented understanding of formulas was closely associated with a tradition of medical writing by elite physicians, namely of annotating ancient formulas based in a classical text. Like Wang's *Medical Case Histories*, Wu Kun's 吳昆 (1551–1620) *Research on Medical Formulas* (*Yifang kao* 醫方考, 1584) explicitly explains how the drugs in each recipe could work together to balance a depleted, blocked, or weakened body. While also referring to the making of medicine briefly as "to grind together" (*gong wei mo* 共為末), he sometimes even eliminates a

[15] See for example, Wang Ji, *Shishan yi'an* (1531), *juan shang*, 14. Online source: Zhongguo jiben guji ku, beijing ai ru sheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2009.

[16] While very few personal manuscripts from before the nineteenth century are extant, a relatively large number from the late nineteenth century have survived. For example, Mao Xianglin mentioned that he had a manuscript titled *Notes from Serving Parents* (*Shiqin yi de* 侍親一得), in which he recorded his experience of medicine in his youth when he took care of his father, but this manuscript was lost. While it is hard to find similar personal manuscripts from earlier periods, I use printed texts to contextualize the findings in the late Qing manuscripts. Many recipes in "proven recipe" collections published during the seventeenth and eighteenth century show a comparable emphasis on experience and intensity on technical details.

description of the process and provides no information on the amount of each drug, but instead explains in detail how each drug functions to rectify a malfunction of the body. For example:

> Wind dries in the spleen and causes the blockage of phlegm, and phlegm originates in dampness. *Banxia* 半夏 (Pinelliae Rhizoma, Pinlliae Ternata) dries dampness, and *fuling* 茯苓 (Poria Cocos, Poria) penetrates dampness. Phlegm will not occur when there is no dampness. Phlegm causes problems when spleen is depleted and *qi* is blocked. *Gancao* (Glycyrrhiza uralensis, Licorice) nourishes spleen and *chenpi* 陳皮 (Citri Reticulatae Pericarpium, dried orange peel) enforces *qi*…This is the essential meaning of this "[formula of] two aged ingredients" (*er'chen*).[17]

Almost a hundred years later, Wang Ang 汪昂 (1615–1695) published his *Collected Annotations of Medical Recipes* (*Yifang jijie* 醫方集解, 1682) in which he summarizes the rule of treating illness as to "observe the pulse, analyze the syndrome, and then establish the recipe" (*Cha mai bianzheng er li fang* 察脈辨證爾立方). Like Wang Ji and Wu Kun, he takes recipes as an outcome of the analysis of syndromes, namely a list of drugs with the right properties to treat the syndrome. Moreover, he retrospectively posits the Han physician Zhang Ji's (ca. 150–219 CE) *Treatise on Cold Damage and Miscellaneous Disorders* as the origin of all the later formula books and asserts that doctors of later times could not use "ancient recipes" (*gufang* 古方), which contain the "proven rules" (*yiyan zhi chenggui* 已驗之成規), to treat illness successfully because they did not understand these recipes. He argues that "to explicate" (*jie* 解) a recipe is the

[17] Wu Kun, "*Er'chen tang*," in *Yifang kao*, ed. Li Fei (Nanjing: Jiangsu kexue jishu chubanshe, 1985), 4. The phrase "*er'chen*" refers to the well-known formula for treating phlegm, the "*er'chen* decoction," which was first documented in the *Formulary of the Pharmacy for benefiting the People of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping huimin heji ju fang* 太平惠民合劑局方) from the Northern Song dynasty.

key and laments that there were more people writing new recipes than those analyzing the existing recipes. He traces back to Chen Wuze 陳無擇 (1131–1189) of the Song dynasty as the first person who "annotated" (*xungu* 訓詁) recipes. After Chen, he points out it is only during the Ming dynasty that Wu Kun revived this tradition of annotating recipes. He presents his work as following Chen and Wu but with an unprecedented scope: "to widely search and collect books and exhaust all the explanations" (*bocai guang souluo qun shu qiong jing ao yun* 博采廣搜羅群書窮經奧蘊). He even makes an analogy between medical recipes and the hexagrams in the *Book of Changes*, arguing that they both provide structures, need to be explained, and can be understood in a flexible way. With explanation of the syndromes and exhaustive inclusion of previous cases and notes by other doctors for each recipe, he fashions his work as a new kind of writing, namely an encyclopedic reference, where one could find all the important existing texts about one recipe. And this very text, he claims, will save doctors and patients including those in rural areas from getting lost in countless recipe books. In Wang Ang's work, we thus see that the recipe genre was understood as a type of text that needs to be deciphered by reading widely in the cases and notes from previous medical books. One must strive to comprehend the original meaning of the ancients, which was "profound and difficult for later generations to understand" (*yongyi shenyuan duo you fei houren suo yishi zhe* 用意深远多有非后人所易识者).[18]

When Wang Ang wrote about the "proven rules," he meant the experience and successful treatment of previous doctors, which could only be found by means of extensive textual study. Ancient recipies could be modified to meet the needs of individual patients, therefore he always provided his observations on how to use the recipes. However, he never claimed that his treatment experience had proven the

[18] Wang Ang, "*Zixu"* and "*Fanli*," *Yifang jijie* (pref. 1682), 1-2, 1-4, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 1002. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 381-383.

universal effectiveness of an ancient recipe. Wang Ang did not argue for a close connection between the adjustment of ancient formulas and clinical experience like Wang Ji did, but the two nonetheless shared a common belief in the correct combination of drugs for specific cases when using standard formulas. At the end of his note on the use of his recipe book, he envisions that his reader will read it together with his *materia medica* work, which introduces the properties of individual drugs.[19] To work with a formula, the reader will first analyze the syndrome and then think through the function of all the drugs and their relationships in order to create or validate a prescription.

The cases of Wang Ji, Wu Kun, and Wang Ang demonstrate that these scholar-physicians emphasized the proper selection of drugs based on their properties and flexible use of ancient formulas. Moreover, in Wang Ji's work, we can see a new tendency towards incorporating contemporary clinical experience into the existing formulary tradition. On the spectrum between textual study and clinical experience, literati physicians might have a range of different perspectives as to what could be counted as proven knowledge and how to acquire it. In contrast, in the widely popular printed recipe books from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, such as the *New Compilation of Proven Recipes* (*Yanfang xinbian* 驗方新編),[20] one would be hard pressed to find any effort at the textual study of ancient formulas. Instead, many recipes provided technical instructions for their readers to follow strictly for the purpose of self-treatment. Recipes marked as "proven recipes" (*Yanfang* 驗方) were also not necessarily the product of exhaustive textual study or a physician's clinical experience, as was the case for the medical texts of late-Ming literati physicians. To understand practice-oriented recipes, such as those in the *Survey* and the *New Compilation of Proven Recipes*, we need to go

[19] Wang Ang, "*Fanli*," *Yifang jijie*, 1-4, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 1002, 381-383.

[20] Bao Xiang'ao's 鮑相璈 *New Compilation of Tested Prescriptions* probably was the most popular "proven" recipe collection from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, seen from the frequency it was reprinted and edited. For list of 178 editions, The *National Union Catalog of Chinese Medical Books and Manuscripts*, see Xue Qinglu et al., ed., *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991), 262-266.

beyond elite medical writing and consider the various kinds of vernacular texts in which recipes circulated. These included handbooks, daily-use encyclopedias, fiction, and popular recipe books.

Beginning in the late Ming, recipe collections in fact outnumbered other genres of medical writing both in printed texts and medical manuscripts.[21] The value of experience and practice in recipes became especially visible in the eighteenth and ninteenth century, when many titles contained words like "proven recipes" (*yanfang* 驗方), "recipes from experience" (*jingyan fang* 經驗方), and "divine recipes" (*shenfang* 神方) or *xianfang* 仙方). These different adjectives modifying the word "recipes" (*fang* 方) represent varied legitimating methods used to market the recipes to people of different social backgrounds; there is no substantial difference between these recipes in their practical orientation. These books or manuscripts all contain recipes with step-by-step instructions on how to make and apply the medicines, and some authors also marked a specific recipe with the word "proven" (*yiyan* 已驗) or "proven effective" (*yanguo* 驗過). For example, the author of the *Survey* wrote the word "*yanguo*" under a recipe for treating hiccups, noting its effectiveness (Figure 25).

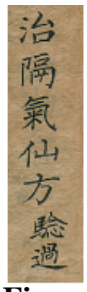

Figure 25 "An immortal's recipe for treating hiccups" marked "proven effective" (*yanguo* 驗過) in the *Survey*[22]

[21] Unschuld and Zheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing*, 18-21. Also see Xue Qinglu et al., ed., *Quanguo Zhongyi lianhe mulu*.
[22] *Yifang bianlan*, 1.

A Collection of Good Recipes (*Jiye liangfang* 集腋良方), a manuscript of a recipe collection by a late Qing official, also marks out some recipes that have been proven effective by its author. (Figure 26).

Figure 26 A "Recipe for *xuanzhua*" marked "proven effective many times" (*yanguo duoci* 驗過多次) in *A Collection of Good Recipes*[23]

The word "*yan*" in these texts means tested or proven by practice, namely that the method described in the recipe had been proven effective through making and applying an actual medicine. The text follows a series of steps introduced by the recipe and which require special care and sincerity. These detailed instructions suggest that authors and compilers increasingly intended for recipes to be used by ordinary people both to treat ailments and as a form of moral practice. To mark a recipe as "proven effective," the auhtors not only left a record for themselves, but also added some credibility for the recipe's later circulation.

Vernacular medical texts highlight practical experience instead of classical texts as the legitimating source for the reliability of recipes. The practice-oriented recipes in those "proven recipe" collections are also usually composed of a list of symptoms (rather than an analysis of a syndrome), a fixed set of drugs, specified quantity, and preparation and usage instructions. Some of these recipes are especially rich in technical details.

[23] *Jiye liangfang*, 171.

Instead of providing a text that needs to be researched, they claim to present a guide that has been proven by the practice of their authors or some previous recorders of the recipe. The effectiveness is guaranteed if one pays close attention to the details in processing, decocting, and mixing the drugs as recorded in the recipe. The word "*yan*" should not simply be taken as medical experts' advertisement for their book; neither was it the experience of the ancients preserved in texts. Tested recipes instead convey a sense of the shared practice of laypersons making and testing medicines. The act of testing could potentially now be carried out by anyone at home with a recipe book at hand. From the perspective of common readers, practice-oriented recipes presented more pragmatic solutions to health problems for ordinary people than did textual research and commentary preserved in elite medical books. Connecting practice and text, recipes served as an instrument for knowledge production, but this knowledge was not restricted to elites. Rather, it could be accessed by non-experts who collected and used recipes for use in their daily lives.

Recipes, on the one hand, drew upon material from earlier medical texts; on the other hand, they also were part of the new world of vernacular literature which started to flourish in the late Ming. Fiction writers in the late Ming embellished their stories with encyclopedic knowledge, including recipes. By this means, medical knowledge and healing practices became accessible to new audiences. Andrew Schonebaum has shown that fiction functioned as an important source for medical knowledge: people read certain fiction as a kind of medicine, and also collected recipes they found in fiction and encyclopedias. Schonebaum's work reveals that texts containing knowledge of *materia medica* shared a literary logic with poetry and fictional stories, and thus became part of the verncular reading knowledge generated by literati mostly in the form of novels since the late Ming.[24] In this new context, recipes circulated as a form of practical knowledge;

[24] Knowledge of the quality of drugs was also widespread in popular literature throughout this period, in the forms such as "*yaoxing ge*" (藥性歌) and "*yaoxing fu*" (藥性賦). In the nineteenth century, a popular

writers showcased their knowledge of recipes in a variety of ways. They narrated the process of making medicine or, more broadly speaking, the healing procedures, as an inherent part of their stories. Other writers made observations about recipes, directly addressing their audience in the context of commentary about a story.

At the end of *A Love Story on the Embroidered Screen* (*Xiuping yuan* 繡屏緣, preface date 1670),[25] for example, an anonymous commentator who was probably a friend of the author ended his commentary with a recipe for treating "sores (on the buttocks) from sitting on a plank" (*zuobanchuang* 坐板瘡). Throughout his commentaries in the book he had been urging his readers to read the story in a sedate manner in order to get its true meanings about "love" or "emotion" (*qing* 情). To finish his overall commentary at the end of the book, he adopted a bantering tone:

> If someone cannot calmly sit down to read, due to sores on the buttocks, and, as a result, misses the overall outline of the book and fails to appreciate the original intention of the writer, then the sores are indeed causing a great calamity. Here I list a proven recipe (*yingyan liangfang* 應驗良方): finely grind equal amounts of *songxiang* 松香 (Pinus tabulaeformis, Manchurian red pine) and *xionghuang* 雄黃 (realgar), place the powder into paper rolls, soak it in canola oil, and then burn [the rolls] until oil drops form, smear the cooled oil on the buttocks with your hand, and it will cure [the sore] immediately.[26]

As in this case, fiction became an important source for medical knowledge, as Schonebaum has argued. Here we see a novel presenting methods to solve the practical

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drama text entitled *Annals of Grass and Trees* (*Caomu chunqiu* 草木春秋) or *Illustrated Stories of Drugs* (*Yaohui tu* 藥會圖) tells stories of human characters in the names of drugs and with dispositions analogous to the characteristics of the medicines. The drama was clearly written with the assumption that its audiences had sufficient knowledge of, or at least were interested in, the quality of drugs for entertainment. For a discussion of how this text represents the trend of using *materia medica* knowledge for entertainment from the late Ming on, see Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine*, 73-121, 158-171.

[25] This novel was written by a person who wrote under the sobriquet "Master of the Su Studio" (Su'an zhuren 蘇庵主人).

[26] Su'an zhuren, *Xiuping yuan* (pref. 1670), Qing manuscript (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 370.

problem of having sat for too long reading the same novel. Although presented in an amusing manner, this recipe was not solely a joke. Literati physicians also recorded recipes for "sores (on the buttocks) from sitting on a plank" in their medical writings, some of them using similar substances. For example, in his *Expanded Notes from the First to Awaken Studio*, the late Ming physician Miu Xiyong 繆希雍 (1546–1627) lists this recipe and specifies that a man named Ding Youwu 丁佑武 had tested the recipe himself and found it to be effective (*qinyan youxiao* 親驗有效).[27]

In this new world of fictional stories blended with medical advice, the characters for "recipe" (*fang* 方) and "method" (*fa* 法) refer to almost the same thing: a practical method to solve a problem, not necessarily a medical one. The late Ming vernacular *Second Collection of Stories from West Lake* (*Xihu Erji* 西湖二集), its author Zhou Qingyuan 周清源 (ca. mid-17th century) lists a series of recipes and methods that he wrote had been "passed along" (*chuan* 傳) to local people in various places by an itinerant Daoist master named Ma Ziran 馬自然 from the Tang dynasty, who Zhou refers to as an "immortal" (*shenxian* 神仙) in his story: "an elixir of ways to survive great catastrophe" (*bi'nan dadao wan* 避難大道丸) for mountain dwellers, two "methods" (*fa* 法) to treat the "*gu* poison" (*gudu* 蠱毒) in the Lingnan region, a "Method to (treat) blockage in the throat" (*houbi zhifa* 喉閉之法), "Three methods to prevent fire" (*bi huo san fang* 辟火三方) for people in Hangzhou city, an "Incantation for avoiding warfare" (*bi bing zhou* 辟兵咒), a "Method of digging wells for curing blindness" (*kai jing jiu gumu fang* 開井救瞽目方), a "Method to break the spell a carpenter placed when

[27] Miu Xiyong also lists *xionghuang* and *songxiang* as the major ingredients for this recipe. Miu Xiyong, *Xianxing zhai guangbiji*, *juan* 3, 44.

building a house" (*po mujiang zao fang yan zhen zhi fa* 破木匠造房魘鎮之法), and two "Methods to wash children to avoid smallpox" (*yu er mian dou zhi fa* 浴儿免痘之法). Claiming to resolve serious problems in daily life, these recipes are not exclusively medical recipes. There are also recipes for fire safety and avoiding warfare. Many of the recipes call for simple ingredients, and many involve incantations, but all are notably instructions for common people to follow rather than specialists. The fictional account explains that the Daoist master traveled to different places, and upon seeing the suffering of local people he gave these recipes and methods to them for protection at home or during their trips. For example, when he saw that "people living in the mountains had nothing to eat and were dying" (*shan zhong zhi ren meiyou fan chi yan yan jiang si* 山中之人沒有飯吃奄奄將死) during famine years, he transmitted "an elixir of ways to survive great catastrophe." In another case, the story tells that "as fire accidents happened a lot in Hangzhou city" (*yin Hangzhou duo huozai* 因杭州多火災), he dictated the "Three methods to prevent fire," and "people in Hangzhou who had been using his methods, rarely had any fire accidents anymore" (*Hangzhou ren yong qi fa zhe duo wu huozai* 杭州人用其法者多無火災).[28]

A comparison of Zhou Qingyuan's story with an earlier version of the story about Ma Ziran illustrates the new social and cultural significance of recipes in the context of vernacular literature.[29] The story of Ma Ziran circulated as a classical short story before the Ming. In this earlier version, we find only a Daoist master named Ma Ziran and some stories of his magical arts. There were no recipes described in this earlier version at all. According to a preface to Zhou's book written by his friend, Zhou Qingyuan probably

[28] Zhou Qingyuan, *Xihu erji* (1628–1644), *juan* 30, 22-25. Online source: Zhongguo su wenku, beijing ai ru sheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2009.
[29] This earlier version was probably a Tang or Song short novel, entitled "Ma Ziran zhuan." It was collected by a Ming writer in the mid-sixteenth century in Lu Ji's (1515–1552) *Ocean of Past and Present Tales* (*Gujin shuo hai* 古今說海). Lu Ji, *Gujin shuohai*, *shuoyuan* 53, 1-4 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1989).

was a professional storyteller living in Hangzhou, who told historical stories of the city and was quite well known locally.[30] He rewrote the story of Ma Ziran, not only by adding a collection of recipes at the end, but also by depicting Ma Ziran in a more dramatized way in vernacular language rather than classical language. In Zhou's story, distributing recipes is a way to accumulate merit. Zhou also added a list of critical sites for maritime defense and some recipes for saving people from starvation at the end of another chapter in the collection. Zhou depicts Ma as both a critic of the treachery of county clerks and a Daoist master who devoted himself "to helping others and benefitting the world" (*ji ren li wu* 濟人利物). In this new version of the story, Zhou tells readers that Ma chose not to be a clerk, the occupation his family had practiced for generations, and determined instead to learn the Dao. After he had successfully cultivated the techniques of inner alchemy, he traveled to different places to do "good deeds" (*shan* 善) and finally became an immortal. He admonished people around him to behave according to the heavenly rules, and in the most successful case, his brother, a clerk in Hangzhou, also became an immortal together with his wife.

The story presents Ma as a model anyone could follow. A poem at the end reaffirms: "Everyone has his route to cultivation; don't delay and waste time."[31] Also Ma Ziran's magical tricks were newly referred to as "entertaining techniques" (*xishu* 戲術) or "entertaining magic arts" (*xifa* 戲法) rather than the more specialized "Daoist techniques" (*daoshu* 道術) as in the older version. These tricks including lying drunk in a stream for one day and then stepping out of the water without having his clothes get wet, making a newly seeded melon sprout and bear fruit all of a sudden, and throwing copper coins into a well and then having the coins fly out of the well. The story says that Ma used these magical tricks to punish those who offended him and to convince his

[30] Hu Haishi, "Xu," in Zhou Qingyuan, *Xihu erji*, 1-11.
[31] Zhou Qingyuan, *Xihu erji*, *juan* 30, 7-21, 28.

audiences of the efficacy of his moral teachings.[32] We will see in the last section that from the late Ming on "entertaining techniques" were no longer a Daoist master's secret techniques, but small tricks highlighting distinctions between good and bad that anyone could collect and use from books like daily-use encyclopedias and collections of recipes. In this story, medical recipes were part of a constellation of practices related to morality and merit that accessible to all and through sharing with others promoted social well-being and accumulated merit. Recipes appeared in multiple genres: recipe books, fiction, and encyclopedias. They established methods accessible to all—for entertainment, healing, and to ensure favorable outcomes in the afterlife.

Merit Making and Networks

From the late Ming on, many people made medicine according to recipes they collected, distributed recipes and medicines, and described their work as intended "to help people" (*ji ren* 濟人) and perform "good works" (*shan* 善). Their strong belief in circulating recipes as a way of merit making has a larger social context of the development of local philanthropy organizations beyond the control of families, religious organizations, and the government, which flourished first in the Jiangnan region and then nationwide from the late Ming to the early twentieth century. Local elites organized these charitable organizations and formed local or regional networks, through which they defined social order and gained reputation.[33] They regarded distributing meritorious books as a major way to deliver their core message, which was frequently expressed in phrases like "doing good deeds together with others" (*shan yu ren tong* 善與人同) or

[32] Zhou Qingyuan, *Xihu erji*, *juan* 30, 7-21. See the use of "Daoist techniques" in "Ma Ziran zhuan," in *Gujin shuohai, shuoyuan* 53, 1.
[33] For studies on philanthropy, see You Zi'an, *Quanshan jinzhen: Qing dai shanshu yanjiu* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1999); You Zi'an, *Shan yu ren tong: Ming Qing yilai de cishan yu jiaohua* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005); Angela Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming Qing de cishan zuzhi* (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1997); Fuma Susumu, *Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū*, (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1997).

"helping people and benefitting things" (*ji ren li wu* 濟人利物).[34] These meritorious books usually contain as well some simple and practical medical recipes.[35] They also construed reproduction and distribution of recipes as a merit-generating act.

Like spirit-writing, poetry, and connoisseurship, the reproduction and distribution of recipes was also an arena of educated expertise and literati experience. For example, the Qing scholar Qian Jun 錢峻 (ca. late 17th to early 18th cent.) engaged in collecting recipes and the publication and reprint of his recipe collection. He started with a personal endeavor of self-care and finally promoted his recipe collection among his friends as universally helpful. Merit gaining provided added incentive to his practice. Qian Jun attributed his devotion to collecting recipes to his filial piety, and considered the publication of his collection as a way to gain merit for his child. In 1708, Qian Jun had been seriously ill for three years. He knew that he would not live to see his child grow up. He was coughing blood, a symptom he attributed to his excessive grief upon his father's death, from which he had never fully recovered. He recalled his mother's words advising him in his youth to pay more attention to medicine instead of pursuing a degree: "I see that you have loved to collect recipe books since your childhood. How about learning some medicine? It could both help you 'cultivate longevity' (*yangsheng* 養生) and 'benefit the world' (*ji shi* 濟世). This will also meet your father's expectation for you to cultivate merit." Ever since, Qian Jun devoted most of his time to learning medicine. Upon completing the compilation, he was immensely pleased with his accomplishment: he had proven the efficacy of over eight hundred recipes. His primary project was not to compile a book, but to acquire and test recipes as a routine part of his daily life: "Whenever I heard about any extraordinary recipe, I sought to buy it with lavish gifts. I

[34] See a discussion of the use of these phrases in You Zi'an, *Shan yu ren tong*, 6-8.
[35] For an example, see recipes listed as divination entries in an early nineteenth-century meritorious book, the *Jingzao quanshu*. The recipes are not technically detailed, but give short rhymes describing simple ways to cure. *Jingzao quanshu* (Shanghai: jinzhang tushuju, early 19th cent.), 17-27.

tested these recipes according to the symptoms when I encountered any emergency and kept the effective ones."[36] Being severely ill, he thought it imperative to accumulate merit for his newborn baby. It was apparent to him that distributing medicines and recipes was the best way. So he invited his friend Xu Yun 徐芸 (ca. late 17th to early 18th cent.), who was also an enthusiastic recipe collector, to prepare a manuscript of his recipes for publication. This was later entitled *A Collection of Proven Recipes of Elixirs* (*Jingyan danfang huibian* 經驗丹方匯編, earliest preface by Qian Jun dated 1708) and published in 1752.

While many of the recipes in the collection are simply verbatim copies from earlier sources, Qian Jun apparently also dedicated time to developing some of the recipes and recorded his experience using these. For example, he writes that he received a "Secret recipe for an all-purpose elixir made out of nine cycles of refining" (*wanling jiuzhuan huandan mifang* 萬靈九轉還丹祕方) from a monk named Baoju. He lists five ingredients and their respective amounts, and in a separate paragraph he provides instructions on how to make the elixir and then how much adults and children should take. To make the elixir, one needs to:

> Grind all the drugs into powder, press cooked rice into a paste, add the mixed powder into the paste, and crush the mixture into pills each weighing three *li*. And then cover the pills with a layer of cinnabar and place them into a big sealed tube; turn over a footwarmer and place the tube into its cover; wrap the footwarmer with straw paper; slowly heat the footwarmer with charcoal fire for the time it takes to burn three sticks of incense; and shake the footwarmer after each stick of incense has been burned.[37]

At the end, he warns that one must fast for three days before making the elixir, and one should avoid women, chickens, and dogs during the process of making it. Some of these

[36] Qian Jun, *Jingyan danfang huibian*, vol. 1, "*Yuanxu*."
[37] Qian Jun, *Jingyan danfang huibian*, vol. 1, 1752, 5a.

descriptions might have been transcribed from somewhere else; the prohibition on women and domestic animals, for example, appeared as a standard expression in many other recipes. But some of the words seem to have originated from Qian's own experience in making the elixir. Before a complete list of the ways to take the elixir with different soups to treat various symptoms, for example, he gives the method to identify "genuine opium," the main ingredient in the recipe:

> Genuine [opium] takes the form of chunks, and they have a color similar to crow feathers. When they are spread, they look like brown mud, have a fresh scent like that of grass, and taste as bitter as *huanglian* 黃蓮 (Coptis chinensis Franch, Chinese goldthread). Fake [opium] also takes the form of chunks, but they are green and black in color. When spread, they are black without any aroma. Even though they are cheap, one should not use them.[38]

This insertion of instructions on how to select the authentic drugs for a recipe seems to suggest that this recipe records something of Qian Jun's own personal experience. Using the title "Method to identify genuine opium from observation" (*kan yapian zhenwei fa* 看鴉片真偽法), Qian Jun positions himself as well as his readers as amateurs who need to know how to identify and buy quality drugs from the market and make their own medicines. He highlights the importance of identifying good drugs for making medicine at the beginning of the book, where he gives a list of instructions on selecting fifty-nine drugs. He criticizes drug sellers and contemporary doctors who play all kinds of tricks for profit and insists: "It is only through careful examination of the shape, color, and smell of drugs that the quality of making the medicine and healing the ill could be guaranteed."[39] He thus presents this knowledge as necessary and learnable for people like himself: educated amatuers of means who wanted to cultivate life, accumulate merit, and cure illness.

[38] Qian Jun, *Jingyan danfang huibian*, vol. 1, 5b.
[39] Qian Jun, *Jingyan danfang huibian*, vol. 1, 1a-1b.

Qian's recipe collection was well received at least in literati circles. In 1752, Yu Huan 俞煥 (ca. 18th cent.) from Xin'an in Anhui province transcribed Qian Jun's book from a copy kept by his friend. He edited the collection based on his own experience in using recipes and reprinted it. From his preface, we know that he had been using recipes to take care of himself for decades. Yu's body has been weak since his childhood, so he visited many "exalted people with unusual learning" (*gaoren yishi* 高人異士) in the Jiangnan area. As a part of his daily life, he had been "reciting and transcribing [rhymes], collecting recipes, and selecting drugs." He was proud of his good health in his fifties and thought highly of what he had "experienced and proven" (*jing yan* 經驗). Not only adhering to "self-cultivation himself" (*zi wei tiaoshe* 自為調攝), he was also determined to "benefit others" (*yu ren wei shan* 與人為善). Yu thus integrated both self-cultivation and morality in his use of recipes. He reports that he and his brothers "strictly selected drugs and privately made pills and powders, like the *cunjin* elixir, *cuisheng* pill, and *taiyi* ointment" (*jingxuan yao liao mizhi wan san ru cunjin gao cuisheng wan ji taiyi gao* 精選藥料秘制丸散, 若寸金丹催生丸及太乙膏), and distributed them widely for free. He further claims that, in order to benefit others, to distribute recipes is even better than giving out medicines, as "to distribute medicines, it is only 'something one family can do' (*yijia neng ban* 一家能辦), but if the recipes are spread out 'every one can do it' (*renren neng ban* 人人能辦)."[40] He envisions that "households in remote and desolate villages have easy acess" (*bi yuan xiang pi rang zhi jia xian de yi mu liao ran* 俾遠嚮僻壤之家咸得一目了然) to his book, so that they can "think of preventing or treating illness" (*si suo yi yufang er zhiliao zhi* 思所以預防而治療之).

[40] Yu Huan, "*Zixu*," in *Jingyan danfang huibian*, vol. 1.

Yu Huan edited and reprinted Qian's recipe collection, but as we see in this preface, he also emphasized his own experience of using these recipes in self-treatment. He further claimed for a universal utility of his experience as recorded in recipes for ordinary households. Like Qian Jun, he fashioned his work as a way to benefit others and thus as potentially merit-generating. Yu's devotion to "benefitting others" unquestionably gained him a reputation among his friends, who then emulated his efforts. Zhou Lang 周郎 (ca. 18th cent., from Nanjing) sent his collection of recipes to Yu expecting that it could be attached to his newly edited book and published together. As did Qian Jun and Yu Huan, Zhou emphasized in his preface to the recipe collection that his intention was also "to help people and benefit things" (*ji ren li wu* 濟人利物) thus again connecting knowledge of recipes with moral virtues. He fashioned himself as someone who, although not a doctor, regularly discussed medicine with friends and traveled widely in the Jiangnan region to collect recipes from renowned healers. In his preface, we see that the rhetoric of benefiting others was presented as a more universal attribute than to be a good doctor: "[I] am not able to be a good doctor (*buneng wei liangyi* 不能為良醫)…[But] to help people and benefit things is something that one can do at anytime (*ji ren li wu zhi shi sui ke xing* 濟人利物之事隨可行)."[41] Both of these prefaces and Zhou Qingyuan's new version of Ma Ziran's story express a clear sense that one could promote virtue and gain merit through facilitating the circulation of recipes.

Not only literati amatuers considered spreading recipes to a broader audience beneficial to society, officials also avidly shared recipes with each other and publicized them. During the Tang and Song dynasty, central and local government played a leading

[41] From the current edition of the *Jingyan danfang huibian*, it is very difficult to tell which part is from this additional source. Zhou Lang, "*Fukan danfang buyi xu*," *Jingyan danfang huibian*, vol.1.

role in publishing and distributing recipes through official institutions.[42] While this government initiative waned in the Qing, local officials continued to regard distributing medical recipes as a practical way to help local people. Yet their effort shows a strong sense of personal responsibility rather than a top-down imperial imperative. Also, instead of depending on state-sponsored compilations, they now acquired their recipe collections from much wider sources. A single effective recipe could be a good gift in official circles. An unknown local official in the late Qing collected more than three hundred recipes, for instance, ranging from some highly technical and secretly transmitted ones to simple folk recipes, and transcribed his collection in a manuscript titled *A Collection of Good Recipes* (*Jiye liangfang* 集腋良方) for publication. He received several good recipes from local officials he knew, including a Commander-in-Chief Sun (Sun *dudu* 孫都督), Provincial Governor Ma from Henan (Henan Ma *xunfu* 河南馬巡撫), Canal Company Commander Liu (Liu *heqian* 劉河千), as well as a retired official called Bian Zhuxi (汴竹溪), who once served as the magistrate of Mianzhu county in Sichuan. In order to get a secret family recipe from a certain Shen Mengbai 沈夢白, he even once held a banquet for Shen, costing him one tael of gold.[43] He not only collected recipes, but also tried to figure out which of them were most effective. These he marked "the best of the best" (*shangshang* 上上). He also added personal remarks at the end of some recipes, like at the end of a recipe for treating an epidemic, "A whole family will get peace once all the people in the family take it, and the whole village will get peace once all the people in the village take it" (*Yijia fu yijia an yixiang fu yixiang an* 一家服一家安一鄉服一鄉安).[44]

[42] For a discussion of Song government and emperor's effort to compile and publish medical recipe collections, see Asaf Goldschmidt, "The Song Discontinuity: Rapid Innovation in Northern Song Dynasty Medicine," *Asian Medicine* 1.1 (2005): 53-90.
[43] *Jiye Liangfang*, 123.
[44] Ibid., 86-87.

Like Qian Jun and Yu Huan, this local official valued his personal experience and was highly motivated to make his recipes widely available. In "A Recipe to Treat Nine Types of Pain of the Heart and Stomach" (*zhi jiuzhong xin wei tengtong fang* 治九種心胃疼痛方) he records his self-healing method as well as his personal history of searching for, testing, and publicizing recipes. The recipe provides instructions on how to relieve one's own pain:

> Upon the outbreak of the illness, crumble ten mugwort leaves in a copper spoon, heat to dry while prodding with a chopstick. Add a half of a small wine cup of bitters. After heating to dry, take [what's left] out and grind it into powder. Take it with a cup of warm-distilled rice wine. When there is noise or downward movement of air in the stomach, or vomiting of clear water, it is cured. This medicine must be taken immediately after making it. If [one takes] those prepared the previous day, it will not be effective.[45]

He further warns his readers to avoid women, chickens, and dogs (as was conventional), and to avoid drinking tea or having fresh meat for three days in order to purify oneself to make the medicine more efficacious. Then he writes "if one takes one dose of light salt water on the first and the sixteenth day of a month, one will never have this problem again."[46] After these instructions comes a personal story, from which we know that the author had been looking for an effective recipe to cure this illness for years because his mother suffered this illness when giving birth to him but "never recovered even after trying countless recipes" (*bian mi yifang wei huo qi xiao* 遍覓醫方,未獲其效). He records here that, he had "vowed" (*liyuan* 立願) to "publicize the recipe to save the sufferers in the world" (*gong zhi zhong guang jiu jiku* 公之眾廣救疾苦) if he could "obtain an efficacious one" (*ying shou zou gong* 應手奏功). His promise to widely

[45] Ibid., 170.
[46] Ibid., 170-171.

distribute an effective recipe that could relieve pain like his mother's was rewarded. He reports that he finally obtained this recipe from Canal Company Commander Liu (Liu *Heqian* 劉河千) in Zhejiang, a military official whom he apparently knew personally when he served as an official in Yunjian.[47] When he served as a military official in Dinghai his mother "took one dose and recovered without any relapse" (*jin yi fu er yu bu fu zai fa* 進一服爾愈不復再發).[48] He exclaims at the end: "It is really a magical technique! [I] dare not to keep it to myself, thus I publish it to facilitate its circulation" (*bugan zi mi jin kanke liuchuan* 不敢自秘謹刊刻流傳).[49] This story about his filial experience of healing his mother supports his claim for the efficacy of this recipe. It highlights the idea that commitment to save others from suffering through distributing recipes would be rewarded. Stories like this recorded in a recipe potentially encouraged further distribution of the recipe for universal aid: upon finding a useful recipe, one should further circulate it for merit.

Elite sociability around philanthropy was not the only arena for the circulation of recipes. For literati amateurs, testing recipes, sharing manuscripts of recipe collections within their social network, seeking to publish their collections for a broader audience, and distributing home-made medicines, were part of their shared expertise and identity as local leaders and reformers. Yet, their claim to benefit others was grounded in a religious discourse involving the accumulation of merit that found expression in the activities of people from varied social strata. While literati amateurs published their recipe collections and fashioned themselves as philanthropists devoted to universal aid in their prefaces, their intended audience – including people like themselves, all sorts of urban dwellers, and people in the countryside – were by no means just passive receivers. These readers

[47] Yunjian refers to today's Songjiang area, near Shanghai.
[48] During the Qing, Dinghai was the county seat located on the main island of the Zhoushan Archipelago.
[49] *Jiye Liangfang*, 171.

also, in turn, collected and distributed recipes; they also considered sharing recipes as a way to gain merit as well as social clout.

Collectability also became a major attribute of recipes, which can be seen in how many recipes recorded the course of their own transmission. This was especially evident in late-Qing manuscripts of commonplace books. In contrast to printed recipe books, which present a final product in the form of a book and the recipes stripped of their social origins, manuscripts keep more traces of the actual social practices of collecting recipes and making medicines. Several manuscripts from the Berlin collection, for example, list the provenance of included recipes. In the late Qing manuscript, *Good Recipes That Have Been Proven Effective* (*Yingyan liangfang* 應驗良方), a person named Song Mingyang 宋名揚 recorded more than twenty recipes he collected from people he knew. The names were even listed under recipe titles, like "Mr. Kui Renpu teaches (*shou* 授)," "Mr. Jin Xiangquan secretly teaches (*mishou* 秘授)," and "Hu Xuehai transmits (*chuan* 傳)."[50] The word "*shou*" suggests a close relationship between Song and the person who showed him the recipe, thereby emphasizing direct transmission.

The first volume of a manuscript titled *An Anthology of Medical Recipes* (*Yifang jichao* 醫方集抄), written by a person named Tang Tingguang 唐庭光 (ca. mid-19th cent.) in Guangdong, reveals the diverse local sources of his recipes. Tang probably ran a small grocery store that also sold medicines because in his manuscript, he marked some of the recipes as "this recipe can be sold" (*ci fang ke mai* 此方可賣), recorded the method to make soybean oil, and specified the way to price different grades among various medical recipes.[51] The manuscript primarily recorded the methods and even the tricks of making compound medicines at low cost. Besides books, he also names more than forty individuals and businesses, including his family members, friends, wealthy neighbors,

[50] *Yingyan liangfang*. Slg. Unschuld. 8082.
[51] *Yifang jichao*, vol. 1, 126-127, 129. Slg. Unschuld 8051.

monks, and local shops, that supplied him with recipes.[52] Personal relationships (rather than specific personal names) were carefully credited in the ways he records their names, like "Father Li Number 4" (*li Si fu* 李四父), "Grand Uncle in Jiujiang" (*Jiujiang shugong* 九江叔公), "In-Law Zhou" (*Zhou qinjia* 周親家), "Teacher Li Youshan" (*Li Youshan laoshi* 李有山老師), "Brother Yinshun" (*Yinshun ge* 尹順哥), "Brother at the Fish Market in Huangsha" (*Huangsha yulan dage* 黃沙魚欄大哥), and the "Du household" (Du *fu* 杜府). He respectively refers as well to priests in temples of several different places as "Great master" (*dashi* 大師). He also referred to some local shops, like a "rice shop" (*mipu* 米鋪), "oil shop" (*youpu* 油鋪), "incense shop" (*xiangpu dian* 香鋪店), "fruit shop" (*jingguo pu* 京果鋪), "herbalist shop" (*shengcaoyao pu* 生草藥鋪), and "packaging shop" (*dabao pu* 打包鋪), all of which sold one or several kinds of compound medicine that they mixed.

When Tang found that a certain medicine was especially popular, he sent his employees to the shops to get the recipe through purchase or exchange. He wrote down the names of these shops and sometimes also their specific locations. His informants come from places within and outside Guangzhou city with some even originating from other provinces.[53] While Tang probably made a living by selling medicines, the many relatives and friends that provided him with recipes seem to have been amateurs or ordinary people who had experience with just one or a few recipes. Tang valued their personal experience: he carefully marked a recipe as "based on Fourth Brother Song's experience" (*Songsi ge jingyan* 宋四哥經驗), for instance, and kept it in his manuscript. He constantly evaluated profit he could earn using these recipes, warning his descendants

[52] For a full list of these sources, see Paul Unschuld and Zheng Jinsheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing*, 856.
[53] *Yifang jichao*, vol. 1.

not to give away the effective ones light-mindedly.[54] The fact that this manuscript was unpublished suggests that he kept his own counsel.

The preparation of recipe collections could also turn into an endeavor that leveraged transregional and local networks and drew upon fictional and medical resources. The author of the *Survey* discussed above, and in Chapter Two, collected recipes from persons he knew, medical books, official publications, and collections of anecdotes. For a set of three recipes for treating hemorrhoids, he noted that the three must be used together and were "transmitted" (*chuan* 傳) by a Mr. Lu from Suzhou.[55] Another recipe to heal smallpox was "published and distributed (*kansong* 刊送) by Chen Yunshan from the Four Arches (*Si pailou* 四牌樓) neighborhood in Beijing."[56] He collected two recipes, one to heal sores on the neck and the other for sword wounds from an official booklet "published" (*kanxing* 刊行) by a county magistrate named Feng Lüqian.[57] Two recipes for wounds caused by a sword or pointed stick, were marked as "issued by Judge Shen" (Shen niesi banxing 沈臬司頒行) and "permitted to be circulated by the provincial government of Shandong" (*Shandong fuyuan zhun tongxing* 山東撫院准通行).[58] A recipe to treat difficult birth was "transmitted by an unusual monk" (*yi seng suo chuan* 異僧所傳).[59] The author notes that a recipe for combating body odor was recorded in the Ming anecdote collection, *A Pearl Boat* (*Zhenzhu chuan* 真珠船). He recorded an elixir

[54] For example, see his warning "This recipe is the most effective one. Don't casually give it to others" (*ci fang zui yan bu ke qin chuan* 此方最驗不可輕傳). *Yifang jichao*, vol. 1, 353.
[55] *Yifang bianlan*, 29.
[56] Ibid., 274-275.
[57] Feng served as a magistrate in four different counties during the Qianlong reign. Feng's (ca. eighteenth century) personal writings seem not to have been published, and many of them were lost. A local gazetteer of his native place published in 1882 mentions that his writings were "hard to find on the book market" (*qisi* 奇市) and describes him as "using classics and techniques to assist governance" (*yi jingshu shi lizhi* 以經術飾吏治). These recipes were probably not from his personal collection, but from a booklet Feng published as a county magistrate. See Yu Liansan, *Daizhou zhi*, *juan* 7, 35-36; *juan* 9, 49. For Feng's recipe, see *Yifang bianlan*, 24.
[58] *Yifang bianlan*, 245-246.
[59] Ibid., 247.

transmitted via three persons across provincial boundaries: "Mr. Jiang from Jinyang Sub-prefecture transmitted [it] to Mr. Wang of Qingyang county, and [Mr. Wang] further transmitted [it] to Mr. Liu in Liaocheng who published (*kansong* 刊送) it." The recipe traveled from Shanxi to Zhili and then to Shandong where it was finally printed and distributed.[60]

When distributing recipes was construed as a merit-gaining act, and individual recipes circulated through varied channels, efficacious recipes that contained clear instructions that others could follow became especially desirable. Those who collected and used recipes wanted complete directions to teach them everything from what substances to use to how to prepare and apply the medicine. The author of the *Survey* never shows any ambivalence in this regard; he provided very detailed instructions and presented his manuscript as a guide that anyone could follow at home, as he clarifies at the end of a group of recipes for treating sores, writing: "I have gathered together good recipes recorded in books and orally transmitted by friends. I hope people follow these recipes to treat themselves medically in order to avoid mistakes."[61] The malaria recipe from the Xu family thus gives instructions for anyone to follow:

> Take one *liang* of vermilion and one *liang* of black pepper, grind them into extremely fine powder until you cannot hear any sound; mix well, and store in a porcelain bottle or a tin box. Ensure it is airtight. When using it, take a piece of plaster to warm the navel and place a teaspoon of the powder in the middle of it. Make sure no one sees it. Attach it to the navel. Even if you recover from the malaria, don't take off the plaster. Allow it to drop off by itself. The efficacy is miraculous.[62]

Like the other practice-oriented recipes discussed in the last chapter, detailed instructions like this enabled recipe keepers to handle substances and tools at home. They recorded a

[60] "Jinyangzhou" probably refers to Taiyuan County. *Yifang bianlan*, 257-260.
[61] Ibid., 309.
[62] Ibid., 293.

method proven to be effective by practice, and thus validated the efficacy of the often anonymous recipe. They introduced practical skills that were absent in prescriptions by literati doctors that highlighted the correct combination of drugs and analysis of syndromes for individual patients, and instead supported claims for universal utility and aid. Personal relationships, references to local shops, and citation of sources were strategies that further legitimated this type of recipe, which was both domestically produced and circulated outside elite medical circles.

Practical and Literary Quality of Recipes for Domestic Use

Circulated among literati amatuers as well as people of moderate means by way of various genres and social networks, practice-oriented recipes entailed rich domestic healing experience extending beyond literati physicians and the commercial medical marketplace. Whereas medical writings by literati physicians positioned physicians as the central actors, practice-oriented recipes promoted making one's own medicines and self-treatment at home. Anxiety about the quality and availability of medicines further encouraged reliance on recipes. The eighteenth and nineteenth century witnessed the flourishing of regional pharmaceutical markets and urban pharmacies. While moving raw materia medica, cooked drugs, and compound medicines throughout the empire, urban pharmacies also constructed some standards to promote their authority. They effectively advertised the drugs they selected and processed as "authentic" (*daodi* 道地).[63] Yet, they were not the only players in the pharmaceuticals market; local grocery shops and street peddlers also sold drugs and ready-made medicines and used at least equally compelling strategies to promote their pills and powders. Buying medicines from the market meant having to choose and try out different solutions; but what one actually got was never clear. As Tang Tingguang's manuscript shows, a medicine maker could grind all the drugs into powders to conceal the real ingredients, add some substances to change the

[63] Bian He, *Assembling the Cure*, 172-221.

color of the medicine, or replace expensive ingredients with cheap ones.[64] Moreover, pharmaceuticals also were less widely available in rural areas; a source of concern for many authors of recipe collections in the Qing. Pu Songling's preface to the *Book of Drugs and Demons* (*Yao sui shu* 藥祟書), which was written for people in rural areas, states: "In the countryside and mountainous areas, [people] not only could not find a doctor, but also have no money to buy medicines. [I] thus collected folk recipes to help fellow countrymen in urgent cases."[65] Most of the substances used in the recipes in this book were easily accessible food ingredients, like radishes, garlic, and red beans. Pu thus promoted his book as especially useful for rural households who had less access to the practices and products of physicians and pharmacies in large urban centers.

Treatment by family members in the home made certain kinds of recipes especially desirable, like those associated with external medicine for treating skin problems discussed in Chapter Two. Recipes that claimed to cure a wide range of miscellaneous symptoms were also popular in the Qing. Literati doctors criticized the "panacaea" approach of many "divine recipes" as negative examples that violated their individual-oriented diagnostic approach. But these recipes seemed to help with a range of the most common and urgent health concerns. Medicines that could be used to treat a wide range of ailments that had been made by wealthy families carried considerable authority. An ointment recipe in *A Collection of Good Recipes* marked as having originated with a Zhao family in Zhangde, which was respectfully referred to as "*zhaofu*" (趙府), for instance, claims to cure a series of unrelated symptoms:

> "…external wounds caused by wind and cold as well as all the unnamed swellings and pains" (*fenghan shiqi suo zhi die pu shan cuo shang sun yiqie wu ming zhong du tengtong* 風寒溼氣所致跌撲閃挫傷損一切無名腫毒疼痛), "pain in the

[64] See some examples in Tang Tingguang's manuscript *Yifang jichao*. As Tang did not write his notebook for publication, he recorded some of his most private tricks in making low-cost and high-profit medicine. See translation of some cases from this manuscript in Unschuld and Zheng, *Chinese Traditional Healing*, 853-855.
[65] Pu Songling, *Yao sui shu*, preface dated 1706.

stomach and heart" (*xinfu tong* 心腹痛), "asthma and coughing" (*xiaochuan kesou* 哮吼喘嗽), "diarrhea" (*xieli* 泄痢), "headache and pain in the eyes" (*toutong yantong* 頭痛眼痛), and "all manner of unnamed sores, infections, and damp toxins" (*yiqie wu ming yongju fabei dingchuang jiedu liuzhu shidu* 一切無名癰疽發背疔瘡癤毒流注濕毒).[66]

Preparing high demand medicines at home to help others could also be counted as "good work" (*shan* 善). In the *Survey*, a recipe for treating "malaria" (*nue* 瘧) records that the Xu family in Dengqing (in Zhejiang province) "makes the mixture" (*zhi heji* 製合劑) every year, and "the people coming to their house to ask for the medicine in the summer and autumn makes the place look like a market" (*qiu yao zhe qi men ru shi* 求藥者其門如市).[67] A recipe for "*Taiyi* elixir for saving the suffering" (*taiyi jiu ku dan* 太乙救苦丹), which was said to cure a wide range of symptoms, ends with this promise: "Able men should prepare it to benefit the world, it will definitely turn out to be extraordinarily effective" (*youli zhe bei yi ji shi zhen yingyan yichang ye* 有力者備以濟世真應驗之異常也).[68] In addition to external sores and all kinds of pains, epidemics were also a major concern in these recipes.[69] At the end of an ointment recipe for treating epidemics, the author of the *Survey* calculates that seventy *jin* of the ointment can make more than ten thousand pieces of ointment paper, which can benefit five thousand people. He further claims that the ointment costs little but cures many, so that rich people should make it and even "families with moderate means" (*shao you li zhi jia* 稍有力之家) could

[66] *Jiye liangfang*, 42.
[67] *Yifang bianlan*, 293.
[68] *Jiye liangfang*, 94.
[69] For other examples, see *Jiye liangfang*, 46, 83.

make it. He confirms that he himself had distributed it to tens of thousands of people and it was "more than a hundred percent effective" (*bu zhi bai shi bai yan* 不止百試百驗).[70] Here he uses rhetoric for merit-making that also takes a form of exaggerated drug advertising.

Using recipes and making medicines at home entailed a much more complicated health care experience than that one could get from seeing a doctor or buying a ready-made medicine from a pharmacy. For almost any problem, not necessarily a clearly identified illness, there might be a recipe for a treatment. To understand this aspect of a healing experience, medical manuscripts offer more useful information than books by elite physicians, as they contain a large number of recipes that were not undergirded by any influential medical thought but seem actually to have been widely circulated and used. Recipes in manuscripts cover a wide range of ailments and problems. Sometimes they suggest the only way to solve a problem that might well fall beyond the expertise of elite medical writers and escape the attention of commercial pharmacies. For example, the *Survey* introduces a set of recipes for "strange symptoms," including "occasionally hearing sounds of fighting ants in the ears" (*er zhong jian mayi zhandou zhi sheng zhe* 耳中間聞螞蟻戰鬥之聲者), "itching in the ears that could not be stopped by using a wooden stick" (*er zhong zuo yang mu chu bu zu yi zhi qi yang zhe* 耳中作癢木觸不足以止其癢者), and "a swelling nose that is as big as a fist and so painful you wish you were dead" (*bi da ru quan tengtong yu si* 鼻大如拳疼痛欲死).[71] These phrases do not describe any well-defined illness but rather evoke particular symptoms related to physical feelings. The *Survey* also provides a recipe for healing "forgetfulness in study" (*dushu jianwang* 讀書健忘) and a "recipe for treating bewitchment by a fox spirit" (*zhi humei fang* 治狐媚

[70] *Yifang bianlan*, 215.
[71] Ibid., 37-54.

方).[72] Without specifying specific symptoms, this last recipes leaves much room for its readers to attribute varied bodily or mental symptoms to fox possession, the story of which appeared in a wide range of media, from orally transmitted local legend to printed fiction and anecdote collections. The imagination of illness thus often involved personal experience that originated from one's daily life as well as reading all kinds of vernacular texts.

Moreover, recipes were quite possibly among the most frequently consulted textual genres for household use; they not only recorded technical knowledge and served as a guide for domestic healing practices but also may have had entertainment value. In the first section, for example, we saw that storytellers and fiction writers like Zhou Qinyuan inserted recipes into fictional stories. The merger between recipes and fiction seems also to have worked in the other direction. An individual recipe could be a vehicle for storytelling, as was the case with the story about drinking goose blood to treat belching presented at the beginning of the chapter. In the *Survey*, quite a few recipes also begin with a story about a case of cure or the origin of the recipe; these stories often tell of a mysterious old man transmitting the recipes. A "Miracle recipe for washing eyes" begins, for instance, with this story:

> A seventy-year old man in Taiyuan prefecture in Shanxi had been blind for nine years. One day, an old man suddenly came to his home and told him: [use] six *qian* of sulfate of soda (*pixiao* 皮硝); boil it in a cup of clear water to the degree of seven tenths; store it for three days to dispel its heat quality; make the liquid at a certain time every month and use it to wash the eyes according to the [fixed] date.[73]

Then, a list of dates follows, telling the readers the right date to wash the eyes in each month. Here the recipe's ingredients and preparation method are described within the

[72] Ibid., 8, 144-145.
[73] Ibid., 268-269.

framework of a narrative story. The "Recipe from a bare-foot immortal for pills made with fish maw to help insemination," I discussed in Chapter Two, also presented a story at its beginning telling its origin and the illnesses it could cure. The story starts with the encounter in a certain famous mountain between an immortal and a sixty-one-year old men with the surname Zhou from Yunnan who has one wife and nine concubines but has been unable to conceive a child:

> …[Zhou] talked about his family [with the immortal], saying that he does not have any children and asking for a good recipe. Moved by his sincerity, the immortal gave him a recipe. The medicine [made according to the recipe] has a character that is clearing but not cooling, warming but not heating. If men take it, [it] could strengthen the muscles and bones, invigorate the vitality, replenish the marrow, nourish the yin, and reinforce the primordial. If women take it, it could regulate the menstral period, replenish the Blood, prevent miscarriage, regulate the *qi*, benefit the yin, and ease fertilization. Zhou bowed and received it [meaning the recipe], and refined and mixed [the medicine] according to the recipe…[74]

Since every recipe has its own textual trajectory, often traveling between fiction and commonplace books as a collectable for literati sociability, connoisseurship, and moral practice, it is hard to say that these stories are intended to establish the authority of any one medical writer. Rather the narrative episodes within which the recipes were embedded functioned to attract collectors through literary embellishment; they also affirm efficacy with reference to myth and magic. In this sense, recipes functioned as a practical instruction for domestic use, a record of how medicines were produced within households, and a textual form that articulated practical health care knowledge through literary narratives.

[74] Ibid., 9-10.

Not only was the boundary between healing and entertainment blurred, techniques of healing and other household skills intermingled. The textual overlap between medical texts and other household recipes is implicit in the word "recipe" (*fang* 方). The word "*fang*" (方) and "*fa*" (法) were shared by medical recipes and other domestic recipes, like those for food, cosmetics, and small tricks. In many recipe books, "*fang*" and "*fa*" were used interchangeably. This is also the case in both fiction and encyclopedias, which were important sources for these daily-use skills as well. As we see in Zhou Qingyuan's story, "recipe" (*fang* 方), "method" (*fa* 法), and "technique" (*shu* 術) appear in the same context in fiction, all basically referring to a method. Daily-use encyclopedias since the seventeenth century, in fact, provided such recipes in a chapter titled the "Section of Entertaining Techniques" (*xishu men* 戲術門), which also resembles the wording "entertaining techniques" (*xishu* 戲術) used in Zhou's story to refer to those magical arts attributed to the Daoist master Ma Ziran. In *A Genuine and Complete Self-help Compendium of Everything Needed for Gentry and Commoners* (*Shimin wanyong zhengzong bu qiuren quanbian* 士民萬用正宗不求人全編) printed in 1607 in Fujian, the section lists methods to wash various kinds of dirt off of clothes as well as some small tricks such as using talismans to treat bones stuck in the throat and to enable a child to stand on a turning bowl filled with water. Similar rituals for removing bones caught in the throat were listed among other medical recipes in many late Qing manuscripts.[75] Also, we find in both the encyclopedia and the *Survey* the recipe entitled "Making light on water" (*shuishang diandeng* 水上點燈), both of which used pills made of "Camphor tree" (*zhangnao* 樟腦) and "pine oil" (*songyou* 松油). While most of the entries in this section on "entertaining techniques" use the word "method" (*fa* 法) in their titles, some entries

[75] See for example, *Yaofu zachao*, 9-10. Slg. Unschuld, 8822.

list "another recipe" (*youfang* 又方) or "another method" (*youfa* 又法), similar to the way medical recipes list alternative recipes.[76]

We thus see the movement of instructions for household skills between fiction and encyclopedias as well as in manuscripts of commonplace books. All these sources present daily-use techniques and a combination of using drugs and simple rituals for solving practical daily issues as strategies that anyone could learn and use. Healing techniques were among these household skills. The *Survey* makes a good case for this textual overlap and allows us to see the rich repository of domestic techniques that were normally not recorded in printed texts. Among several recipes for treating sores, for example, the author of the *Survey* suddenly lists a recipe titled "Fire blowing outside the chimney in the kitchen" (*zhaowu yancong huomei shang yan* 灶屋煙囪火煤上焰): "Just place a water bowl facing downward at the bottom of the chimney, and all the fire will fall into the bowl immediately."[77] Its title mimics the way in which some medical recipes listed a bare description of a symptom as the title. Among some other medical recipes, the author recorded a recipe for washing clothes: "When paint splatters on clothes, wash away the paint right away with sesame oil thoroughly, then melt some water-based glue (*shuijiao* 水膠) and add a little bit of water to make it into a thick liquid, and use [the liquid] to wash away the sesame oil within a short time…"[78] After another two alternative methods for washing white clothes, he noted that the recipe was originally from *A Record of a Sojourning Official's Life* (*Youguan jiwen* 游官紀聞), a collection of stories and anecdotes written by a Song dynasty official named Zhang Shinan 張世南 (ca. late 12th to early 13th cent.). At the end of the *Survey* the author noted that these recipes had "all proven to be effective." That the author claimed to have collected and tried out these

[76] "*Xishu men*," in *Dingjin chongwenge shimin wanyong zhengzong bu qiuren quanbian* (1607), in *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan*, vol. 9 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2011).
[77] *Yifang bianlan*, 25.
[78] Ibid., 307.

washing methods from a collection of anecdotes from an earlier dynasty further illustrates the hybrid literary nature of such recipes.

More techniques are clustered at the end of the last volume of the *Survey*, where the author (or the transcriber) wrote down a large group of recipes for (among other things) food preparation, raising domestic animals and planting trees, cleaning clothes, washing the face and hair, and magical tricks.[79] Recipes related to food preservation and preparation include those for making medicinal wines, vinegar, and tea, keeping fish fresh, storing rice, making fermented bean paste, and cooking pork. There are recipes that introduce methods to transplant trees, enrich soil, facilitate blooming, and instructions on how to plant or graft fruit trees. There are also more recipes for washing various kinds of dirt off of clothes. Additional recipes explain how to cultivate a turtle with green hair, catch fish, repel mosquitos, catch rats, silence frogs, cats, and dogs, make candles, and make animal-shaped charcoal. Many of these recipes use drugs as ingredients and use technical instructions similar to those found in medical recipes. For instance, a recipe for "making words float on the surface of water" (*shuimian fu zi* 水面浮字), tells readers to "grind *huangqin* 黃芩 (Scutellaria baicalensis, Baikal skullcap) and write with the powder on a piece of paper, then chant away the paper in water, and the words will be left in the water."[80] A recipe for "removing words" (*qi zi fa* 起字法) instructs readers to do the following:

> Grind two *fen* of *manjingzi* 蔓荊子 (Vitex rotondifolia, Roundlead chastetree), two *fen* of dragon bone, two *fen* of *nanfen* 南粉 (southern powder),[81] three *fen* of *baicaoshuang* 白草霜 (plant soot), and ten pieces of bird feces together into

[79] Ibid., 345-371. Another late Qing manuscript, the *Recipes Kept in the Chen Family* (*Chenshi jiacang fang* 陳氏家藏方) also has several similar entries at its end. *Chenshi jiacang fang*. Slg. Unchuld. 48957.
[80] *Yifang bianlan*, 346.
[81] It seems that *nanfen* is not a specific mineral or powdered plant. It might have been a kind of a commercial product. Not knowing what it is, I translate it literally as "southern powder."

> powders. If one wants to erase words from paper, dip a drop of water [on the word], and add the medicinal powders onto the paper. Wipe them off when dried. The word will come off by itself.[82]

A recipe to cultivate chickens with five-colored feathers uses similar wording to that of medical recipes: "Use a half-*jin* of cuttlefish, take out the intestines and fill in sulfate, place it into an earthen container–for seven days in the winter, five days in the autumn–then take it out and mince it."[83]

Recipes describing household techniques mingled as well with recipes for entertainment. Techniques similar to the magical tricks played by Ma Ziran to tease the virtueless in the late-Ming story cited above also appear in the *Survey*. There are recipes for "raising eggs into the air" (*jidan shengkong* 雞蛋升空), "making light on water" (*shuishang diandeng* 水上點燈), "making fire on clothes without burning" (*yi shang dianhuo bu shao* 衣上點火不燒), "gathering butterflies" (*hudie fei ji* 蝴蝶飛集), and "warming wine in the snow" (*xue zhong nuan jiu* 雪中暖酒). Notably, the sentence structure of these instructions for small tricks, mostly for entertainment purposes, is identical to those used in recipes for making medicinal pills. The instructions on how to "raise eggs in the air" wrote that one should "open a small hole on the egg, pour out the yolk and white, and then fill in dew and cover the hole with a piece of oil paper. Place the egg under the scorching sun, and it will rise by itself to a height of four to five *chi*."[84] Use of these recipes also involves handling drugs. The recipe for "making light on water," to give another example, tells to "mix one *liang* of *zhangnao* 樟腦 (Cinnamomum camphora, Camphor tree), five *fen* of *songxiang* 松香 (Pinus tabulaeformis, Manchurian

[82] *Yifang bianlan*, 347.
[83] Ibid., 348.
[84] Ibid., 366-367.

red pine), and some distilled wine into pills," which can burn while floating on the water.[85]

Conclusion

From the late Ming to the Qing, recipes traveled between different genres, medical, fictional, and encyclopedic. Sometimes they advertise the simplicity of a method and guide their users to make medicines using the most common materials available at home; sometimes they call for sincerity and purity in the making process; othertimes they require extraordinary attention to technical details; sometimes they promote the virtue of making a really effective medicine to benefit others; sometimes they might bring in stories and depict the making of medicines as an exotic and entertaining task. They provided practical healing solutions for households in remote areas where people had less access to doctors and urban pharmacies; they provided practical solutions to everyday matters, including all kinds of ailments that one could recount and imagine in straightforward ways related to symptoms that contrasted with the more complex patterns of syndromes in elite medicine; they also afforded another avenue toward the accumulation of merit.

When recipes traveled in non-medical texts, most notably fiction and daily-use encyclopedias, they took striking images and stories from vernacular literature and transmitted them into the domestic space. Narratives entered into the framework of the recipe form such as a story telling the recipe's origin and, in reverse, the textual form of the recipe also served as a narrative structure in fiction for telling a healing story. This intertextuality, in turn, blurred the boundary between the knowledge of healing and entertaining literary techniques in the process of their production and consumption. Medical recipes mingled with descriptions of other household skills and formulas in

[85] Ibid., 367.

encyclopedias, fiction, and manuscripts of commonplace books as well. They thus traveled beyond medical writing, stepping into a world of collectable, practical, and amusing household skills in all kinds of vernacular texts.

To circulate this practical knowledge meant to help others, benefit the world, and thereby to accumulate merit. People collected and circulated recipes through fiction, encyclopedias, and official publications as well as by way of personal connections and their own manuscripts of commonplace books. The strong interest in the circulation of a recipe was rooted precisely in the possibility of home manufacture and use as well as reinforcing social relations. In both domestic healing practices and in the process of circulation, recipes functioned as an epistemic genre for both knowledge production and gift exchange in the context of everyday life.

Part III: Deeds and Virtues

Chapter Four: Writing about Health to Articulate Virtue, Talent, and Morality

(She) tested medicines in front of the curtain during heavy spring rains,
and put on another layer of clothes next to the stove on windy nights…
When she had leisure she read the *Linglan* wildly;[1] Ill, she dispatched the
vulgar physicians and tried her own recipes.
---- Qian Yiji, "Poem of Four Sorrows Revisited"

重寫哀四首:

簾前檢藥春多雨, 爐畔添衣夜正風 ...

閒來枉讀靈蘭典, 病遣庸醫試藥方.

Qian Yiji 錢儀吉 (1783–1850), the compiler of one of the most extensive collections of biographies produced in the Qing dynasty, wrote a group of four poems to memorialize his wife Chen Ershi 陳爾士, who died in 1821. He recalled how the sickened Ershi served her ill mother-in-law without a moment of negligence and how she prepared medical decoctions late on chilly nights. He also recounted that Ershi never ignored the cries and pains of their children who frequently fell ill. In a life as busy as if she were "fighting in a war" (*ru zhen zhan* 如陣戰), Ershi tirelessly read medical classics like the *Basic Questions* in the hope that she could detect the tricks of vulgar physicians. It was common for her to make changes to recipes in order to achieve the best results.[2] In Qian Yiji's recollection, these domestic scenes occupied a prominent position and attested to his wife's virtue as a daughter-in-law and a mother.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, elite women played an important role in the provision of health care to their families. Reading medical texts and taking care of sick family members, they presented themselves and were represented by others as filial

[1] "*Linglan*" ("Divine Orchid") refers to the eighth chapter of the *Basic Questions*. The chapter discusses the function of twelve internal organs (*shier zang* 十二臟) and their relationship.
[2] Chen Ershi, *Tingsonglou yigao*, reprint in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2008), 633.

daughters and daughters-in-law, virtuous wives, and capable housewives. This chapter uses five cases related to elite women's medical learning and household healing activities from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. In four of these cases, health signifies a moral domestic order, and in caring for family members, women played an important role as active and practical organizers of the household or as filial daughters and daughters-in-law. In other words, in these accounts, women were both practical and moral agents, functioning through their actions as guarantors of the domestic order. These sources describe an idealized domestic space presided over by women who express their virtue and talent by providing care for their families. In accordance to the practical turn in medical culture illustrated in the preceding chapters, these sources illuminate the increasing prominence of household healing practices. Yet, in this context (and in contrast to earlier chapters), the household appears as a gendered site in which anxieties over the incompatibility of talent and virtue might be worked out, or where women could enhance their authority through proper performance of roles.

In their writings, elite women articulated their medical learning and health-related practice within their households in relation to ideas about women's talent and virtue. As a form of literary practice, medical learning could be a talent; caring for the health of family members served as a vehicle for moral expression. It was not uncommon for elite women who had access to medical texts kept in their homes to have a certain level of medical knowledge. While women writing medical texts in the tradition of literati medicine were evidently rare, elite women wrote about the care they provided to their families in biographies, essays, and family precepts. Over the course of the nineteenth century, they increasingly portrayed medical knowledge as essential to women's fulfillment of their domestic duties, rather than as a literary pastime or a controversial aspect of women's talent as was the case in the eighteenth century. They fashioned themselves as guardians of family tradition who were in charge of the family order. These women used medical knowledge and the proper arrangement of domestic spaces to

guarantee their family members' health. They claimed responsibility for handing down the practical skills and the embodied virtue of their predecessors to younger generations. They (and their relatives) thus documented (in biographies) words, deeds, and practical skills related to health care in order to illuminate their virtue. These records testified to their capability as housewives; biographical narratives featuring health care as "women's work" revealed women's moral power in their households.[3]

The association between moral power and health care was indebted to the eighteenth-century ideal of women as moral instructresses. According to Susan Mann, the moral instructress transmitted family tradition, served their families in the domestic space through hard work, and correctly performed their ritual roles.[4] The woman who cared for her family's health likewise ensured the proper functioning of the family over generations. The image of the moral instructress provided a framework for educated women in the eighteenth and nineteenth century to represent themselves—and through which to be represented by their relatives—as moral agents within the household.[5]

In the following sections, I start with Wang Zhenyi's 王貞儀 (1768–1797) reflection on her medical learning in the late eighteenth century, in which we see her struggling to subjugate her talent of medical learning under the morally correct rubric of

[3] Here I draw upon Francesca Bray's argument on the distinction between women's work and womanly work. See Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender*, 183-187.

[4] The most representative advocate of this ideal was Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801), who elaborated classical "women's learning" (*fuxue* 婦學) as an ancient tradition that had been lost and needed to be restored. Susan Mann, *Precious Records*, 76-94; "*Fuxue* (Women's Learning) by Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801): China's First History of Women's Culture," *Late Imperial China* 13.1 (1992): 40–62.

[5] A good case of this practice-oriented conception of family can be found in the writings of Chen Hongmou 陳宏謀 (1696–1771), a passionate reformer of local governance. In his didactic work *Five Inherited Guidelines* (*Wuzhong yigui* 五種遺規), while firmly reiterating ritual correctness and principles, Chen gave much practical advice on how to manage an individual "household" (*jia* 家) especially regarding its economic resources, and emphasized women's management of nuclear households as the basis for the survival of "patriarchal lineage" (*zong* 宗). According to William Rowe, Chen held a strong belief in the analogy between the management of household and that of state. And this was not new. In the Song, nuclear household (*jia*), as a counter part of "state" (*guo* 國), has been regarded as the basic unit of political economy, to which economic and social resources were attached, and thus a nuclear household could be managed. William Rowe, "Women in the Family in Mid-Qing Social thought: The Case of Chen Hongmou." *Late Imperial China* 13.2 (1992): 10-15; Patricia Ebrey, "Conceptions of the Family in the Sung Dynasty," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 43.2 (1984): 219-245.

women's virtue. I then analyze Chen Ershi's 陳爾士 (1785–1821) letters to her husband and biography of her mother-in-law. In these writings, Chen asserted her wifely virtue by describing how she cared for her family's health and emphasized the transmission of virtue in her family by recording her mother-in-law's words and deeds as she cared for the health of children, parents, and other relatives. After this, I turn to Liu Jian's 劉鑒 (1852–1930) precepts for women, written in the first decade of the twentieth century, in which she presented knowledge and skills of health care as indispensable aspects of household management. The chapter ends with Chen Yun's 陳芸 (1885–1911) biographic writings from the early twentieth century, in which Chen interpreted her literary learning as a form of medicine for her mother's illness, and thereby subjugated her literary talent to moral performance.

Learning Medicine in the Inner Chamber

At the turn of the eighteenth century, theoretically grounded medical learning was rare among even the most talented women. Wang Zhenyi, a broadly learned woman from a medically inclined literati household, expressed in her writing anxiety and discomfort about her medical learning. She positioned herself as a virtuous woman writer within the inner chambers. Her vision of feminine virtue did not include direct discussion of domestic medical care as a woman's responsibility. Instead, she presented her medical learning in the tradition of literati medicine. Moreover, the tension between talent and virtue seems clearly apparent in her claim that she wrote not to pursue fame, but out of moral obligation.

Wang Zhenyi compiled her only extant work, *The First Collection from the Pavilion of Virtuous Customs* (*Defeng ting chuji* 德風亭初集), in 1797, the year of her death. Married into a family of humble origin and thus overwhelmed by housework, she faced the not uncommon tension between developing her talent and fulfilling her wifely

duties. She died only five years after her marriage at the age of twenty-nine. Her essays express a strong and very conventional belief in moral correctness as well as equally conventional unease about her extraordinary learning. She stressed: "I did not search for fame, but just sought to say what I want to say, like birds singing in the spring and insects chirping in the autumn."[6] Here, she asserts that the expression of her talent was entirely natural and not motivated by what would have been considered an unwomanly desire for public recognition. She thus claimed moral correctness—and the irresistibility of her own literary expression—both socially acceptable for women at the time. She could not suppress her talent—any more than could the birds and insects remain silent. Since she learned medicine in a literati mode, she construed medical learning as talent not virtue, something that should be placed within the inner chambers and not shared in print. Thus in discussing medicine, she performed the same kind of anxiety that literary women did in their poetry collections.

Zhenyi's medical learning originated from her family tradition of literati medicine, and like many talented women in this period, she cultivated her learning in her natal family. Her father was her first and primary teacher. Zhenyi's medical knowledge came from both reading medical classics and her father Wang Xichen's 王錫琛 (ca. early 18th cent.) medical practice. Her family was originally from Nanjing, and she traveled widely with her father to the northern and southern parts of the empire.[7] Her father also guided her reading of medical books and analysis of medical theories and cases.[8] Her father was learned in medicine, yet only treated patients at the request of friends. Over the years he

[6] Wang Zhenyi, "*Zixu*," in *Defeng ting chuji* (Jiangshi shenxiu shuwu, 1916), 1.
[7] The eleven-year-old Wang Zhenyi followed her father and grandmother to Jilin to visit her grandfather Wang Zhefu (?–1782), who served as a magistrate there. Several years later, she followed her father to Guangdong. Most of the poems in the collection were written during her travels. Wang Zhefu experienced numerous hardships in his official career; clearly family members, including Wang Zhenyi, were aware of their declining fortunes. (For example, in "*Shang Bu taifuren shu*," in *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 1.) Lan Dingyuan (1680–1733) wrote an essay about Wang Zhefu's life, entitled "*Guaiyi ji*" (A Record of a Eccentric Person). See Wang Zhenyi's "*zixu*" and Jiang Guobang's "*xiaozhuan*" in *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 1. For a list of biographical sources and contemporary research about Wang, see Lily Xiao Hong Lee ed., *Zhongguo funü zhuanji cidian* (Sydney: Xini daxue chubanshe, 2010), 172-173.
[8] Wang Zhenyi's father might not have had an official career, but was learned in mathematics, medicine, and astronomy. The details of his life are otherwise unclear.

had accumulated approved formulas from his amateur medical practice and finally wrote them down in his *Collection of Reliable Recipes* (*Yifang yanchao* 醫方驗抄).[9] The manuscript analyzes symptoms and approaches to treatment before giving out formulas. According to Zhenyi's preface to the book, it records dozens of formulas used and perfected for treating each symptom.[10] The book was arranged in accordance with Zhenyi and her father's understanding of proper medical practice.

Zhenyi prioritized theory and the textual foundation of medicine. She shared with her father a belief in the authority of medical classics and a suspicion of popular practical recipes. In an essay titled "Afterword to My Father's *Collection of Reliable Recipes*" (*Jingshu jiadaren yifang yanchao hou* 敬書家大人醫方驗鈔後), Zhenyi criticized people who claimed to know medicine based on their desultory reading in recipe collections. She emphasized the importance of a thorough understanding of the natural environment as well as the root and the development of the symptoms. In her words: "It was not because of the miraculous efficacy of a recipe (that a symptom was cured). Though the recipe is a proven one, it is essential that when using the recipe, one should not test the recipe on people but rather should base the treatment on a precise reading of the pulse and symptoms."[11] As she explained, illnesses differ according to personal physical constitutions, weather, time, and location, thus one should use recipes based on the "principle" (*li* 理 or *liyi* 理義).[12] In this context, principle refers to a theoretical synthesis of each individual case, grounded in a fundamental understanding of the function of human body and its relationship with the larger cosmic order, a criterion usually absent in popular recipe collections but central to literati medical writings on recipes and *materia medica*.

[9] This book might be lost, since it is not listed in the *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu*.
[10] Wang Zhenyi, *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 8, 3.
[11] Ibid., 4.
[12] Ibid., 3.

In her writings, Zhenyi uses the word "virtue" (*daode* 道德) in the same way that her male counterparts did: to refer to a strict (and de-gendered) self-discipline based on sufficient reading and practice. To demonstrate virtue in literati medical practice meant to treat people only after having a thorough understanding of the "principle" on the basis of sufficient healing practices, rather than to use recipes light-mindedly. She stated: "Although I had a general understanding of medicine, I never treated myself." And "This is not because of fear, but because to apply medicine on one's body one must have virtue (*daode*)…How can [one] conceitedly rely on 'biased opinions' (*yi de zhi jian* 一得之見)."[13] She explained, that "This is the profound meaning of keeping the fundamental guidelines (*fa* 法) and abandoning the instruments (*ju* 具)." She pointed out that recipes were just instruments, and further advised that, as her father told her, "Even if one had divine formulas (*shenfang* 神方), it was always better to treat illnesses before they become fully developed."[14] By emphasizing the importance of treating illness in advance, she presented medicine as fundamentally for regulating one's bodily condition rather than treating superficial symptoms. For Zhenyi, then, medicine was a field of literati self-cultivation, rather than an arena for gendered moral performance, and a field of scholarly learning, rather than a household practical skill as discussed in the previous two chapters.

Because medicine was, in her view, a field of literati learning, the practice of which was beyond the inner chamber and thus potentially harmful to women's morals, she presented herself as not qualified to treat anyone. When she gave advice on health issues to friends and relatives she often showed performative modesty. One day after her visit to her friend Liu Jirong, for instance, she wrote a letter to point out the problems of the formula Liu was taking for pacifying the fire in the body. From taking Liu's pulse on the previous day, she thought Liu was suffering from excessive yang and deficient yin,

[13] "Biased opinions" was a conventional criticism of literate healers toward who they considered to be charlatans who just adhere to the doctrines of one current of medical learning.
[14] Ibid., 4.

and should take a formula that could restrain the blood in order to nourish the yin. After giving out two lists of drugs suitable for Liu's conditions, she criticized the "vulgar physician" (*yongyi* 庸醫) who gave Liu a formula which promoted the fire aspect (i.e., yang) of her body. She then discussed her findings based on a careful reading of medical books, which confirmed her judgment on the treating principles. "I dare not say I know medicine," Zhenyi insisted, but "I always tell people around me, as the saying goes, don't take medicine from doctors in whose family medicine has been practiced for less than three generations." In terms of what she thought as the "principle" (*li* 理), she advised Liu to pay more attention to regulating her daily life so that no medicine would be necessary.[15]

Here, she tactfully expressed her discomfort in giving medical advice to her intimate friend. To justify her deed, she asserted that her personality was so straightforward that she always felt compelled to point out what she believed to be wrong to her relatives and friends.[16] After her detailed discussion of the treatment, she wrote: "I cannot keep silence on this issue," admitting that she knew analyzing Liu's symptoms and pulse and pointing out the incorrect treatment approach of who she called a vulgar physician was originally not her business but that she had been unable to refrain from speaking out. She concludes by deferring to a male relative, Liu's uncle, who had some medical experience, writing: "Your uncle is skilled in medicine. When you have time, you might send my letter to him for advice. He certainly will know whether I am wrong or not. Don't forget him because of the distance."[17] She thus positions herself as a "virtuous" woman, deferring to the expertise of a man.

[15] Wang Zhenyi, *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 6-7.
[16] Zhenyi wrote several other essays in which she also expressed straightforward comments. In one of them, for example, she admonished one female friend not to believe in Buddhism, upon a preface request for the friend's newly transcribed Buddhist sutra. Wang Zhenyi, "Da Fang furen diyi shu" and "Zaida Fang Furen shu," *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 14-15.
[17] Wang Zhenyi, *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 6-7.

Zhenyi's expressed anxiety over her medical learning originated from her discomfort in reconciling her broad learning, her talent, and her belief in women's virtue. In her self-representation, she differed from most of her female contemporaries in that her "talent" and "learning" extended into areas beyond painting and poetry and included "specialized" and "erudite" subjects like geography, mathematics, and astronomy.[18] Her definition of talent was exceptionally broad for a woman of the period. At the same time, her writings present a deep sense of sadness over the lack of a virtuous female role model in her childhood. She lamented that she became aware of the expectations for female virtue relatively late, identifying as transformative an encounter with a certain Lady Bu in Jilin Province when she was an eleven-year-old girl.[19] She recalled that it was only when she met Lady Bu that she understood how to distinguish what is "essential" (*ben* 本) from what is "superficial" (*mo* 末): "the Way"(*dao* 道 meaning women's virtue) is essential, and the literary learning is superficial. In Lady Bu's teaching, the Way primarily meant to keep women's words within the inner chamber.[20] Following Lady Bu's teaching, she refused Lady Bai's request for a preface for her anthology. She responded that she never showed her writings to outsiders: "I am happy with hiding my writings, as I observe the teaching that words from the inner chamber should not go outside (*neiyan buchu zhi xun* 內言不出之訓) in order to preserve the womanly Way (*nüzi zhi dao* 女子之道)." She criticized Lady Bai's interest in publishing as "searching for fame" (*qiuming* 求名).[21] Here, she adopts the persona of the lady writer in the inner chambers whose voice should not be heard outside.[22] Underlying her repeated assertion of the womanly Way was a

[18] Wang Zhenyi, "Shang Bu taifuren shu," *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 1-3.
[19] It is not clear who exactly this Lady Bu was. She might be the mother of an official in Jilin who knew Wang Zhenyi's grandfather.
[20] Wang Zhenyi, "Shang Bu taifuren shu," *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 1-3.
[21] Wang Zhenyi, "Da Bai furen shu," *Defeng ting chuji*, *juan* 4, 5.
[22] It seems that Zhenyi never sought publication for her writings. After her death, her husband sent the book manuscripts to one of her female friends Qian Yuling in the hope that the collection would be found valuable at a later time. After about a century of circulation in manuscript, Jiang Guobang (1893–1970), a

tension between her pride in her broad learning and her ideal of being a virtuous woman. To her, giving medical advice to others was not a simple task; it needed explanation to be justified.

Wang Zhenyi acquired her medical learning by reading medical books with her father and by observing his treatment of family and friends. For her, medicine, like poetry, mathematics, and astronomy was part of her intellectual life as a literary woman in an elite family. Medicine was an expression of broader literary talent and learning. She presented medical learning as a realm of literary practice—open to women as long as talent did not compromise women's virtue by way of publication or public activity. Moreover, she shared with male literati medical learners the emphasis on the principles (*li* 理) and virtue in medical practice. While Wang Zhenyi never explicitly connected medical learning to women's domestic duties, Chen Ershi from Zhejiang (who was seventeen years her junior) wrote about caring for her elderly and ill relatives to assert her wifely virtue.

Fashioning Learned Wifehood in the Daily Routine of Health Care

Unlike Wang Zhenyi, who fretted over the absence of a proper female model in her family, Chen Ershi married into a family well known locally and nationally for its exemplary maternal education.[23] Her husband Qian Yiji (1783–1850) was the nephew of Qian Yuling 錢與齡 (1763–1827), to whom Zhenyi's husband entrusted her manuscripts. In Ershi's case, the prominent family tradition of maternal education legitimated her medical learning and health care to family members as a strong expression of women's virtue. Her everyday domestic practice included the provision of medical care to her

publisher from Zhenyi's native place, acquired a copy of the original manuscript and put it into print in 1916.

[23] The Qian family in Jiaxing was renowned for its literary tradition. Qian Yuling's grandfather Qian Chenqun (1686–1774) maintained a long personal relationship with the Qianlong emperor.

family.[24] We learn of this from letters between Chen Ershi and Qian Yiji written during the period from August 1817 to July 1818, when Qian accompanied his mother's remains from Beijing to their hometown, leaving Chen in the capital to manage the household. In these letters, Ershi reported on their children's studies, household expenditures, and the activities of relatives and household employees. She also commented on her husband's essays, provided updates on the activities of her husband's colleagues, and made observations about the physical health of members of the household, including her own and that of the children. She invited doctors she knew to evaluate complicated symptoms, yet because of her familiarity with basic pharmacology, she was able to make basic diagnoses and evaluate the efficacy of medications. She also was able to prescribe commonly used formulas and modified them to suit specific circumstances. In some instances, she recorded these modifications and treatments.[25]

Her detailed reports on the illnesses afflicting her children showed her close attention to the daily life of her children and her familiarity with the properties and uses of drug substances. Ershi noted: "Heatstroke and rashes are quite common recently due to the unusual weather (*shi qi bu zheng* 時氣不正)," thus she "had forbidden the children from eating cold, uncooked, and oily food for more than a month."[26] To cure her daughter's eye ailment, she asked her husband to collect an herb called *yixing cao* 移星草 (Eriocaulon buergerianum, pipeworts) in the south. She explained that the plant was "especially effective in treating white spots (*baixing* 白星) in the eyes," and "As it is now mid spring, the plants are luxuriant." She urged her husband to bring some from the south, and advised: "The plant must be fresh to be effective, so you should take them with the original soil."[27] She reported that she successfully cured her son, who had a lump on the

[24] Lily Xiao Hong Lee, ed., *Zhongguo funü zhuanji cidian*, 172.
[25] Chen Ershi, *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 599-600, 603, 605, 610, 611.
[26] Ibid., 610.
[27] Ibid., 607.

back of his head, by adding *shouwu* 首烏 (Polygonum multiflorum, tubor fleeceflower), *shengdi* 生地 (Rehmannia glutinosa, Rehmannia root) to the four-substance decoction.[28] She listed the names and the quantities of the ten drugs in a self-made formula for her fourth son's ear infection. She said she was delighted that after two doses of the medicine the pain disappeared and her son felt better.[29] These are only some of the cases in which Ershi wrote down the composition and use of a formula.[30]

She adopted two approaches in her use of formulas: one was to use complex formulas, which were composed of a group of drugs organized under a specific theoretical explanation of the illness. These required constant adjustment based on the changing symptoms and bodily conditions associated with one identified illness. For example, she described treating her mother's chronic eye ailment with an original formula involving eight ingredients that she developed based on reading medical books. She also explained that she had used the formula to "fully pacify the fire in the liver." [31] Once the symptoms improved, she planned to develop another formula to nourish yin and cultivate the liver.[32] The other approach was to try "folk recipes" (*pianfang* 偏方), which usually were fixed combinations of a few household substances. These folk recipes were widely available (as shown in Chapter three) and were only to be used exactly in accordance with the original recipe. For example, she reported that her third daughter's eye ailment was cured using a folk recipe made of betel nut, ashes from the iron stove, and honey.[33]

While Chen Ershi confidently described her ability to treat the children's illnesses, she reacted with concern and anxiety about her husband's health. This may have been due to the distance—a good wife expressed concern for the well-being of her distant husband even as she competently managed the ailments affecting family members within her

[28] Ibid., 599-600.
[29] Ibid., 604.
[30] For another example of a formula prescribed by a doctor named Chungu for her son Ying, see Chen Ershi, *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 610.
[31] In Chinese medicine, disorders of the liver function could cause eye illnesses.
[32] Chen Ershi, *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 604.
[33] Ibid., 608, 611.

domestic orbit. Thus she wrote to her husband: "The master's (i.e., her husband's) body has always been weak, and always suffered from cough during seasonal changes from the winter to the spring." She urges her husband to be mindful that "Excessive sadness hurts the lungs, and excessive thought hurts the spirit."[34] She also voiced her anxiety over her husband's chronic hemorrhoids: "I have been especially worried about your hemorrhoids. With this symptom, it is essential to prevent grief and exhaustion, but how can one be peaceful at this moment?"[35] One month later, her husband reported on the formulas he was taking for the hemorrhoids and coughing. Ershi wrote back: "I was deeply comforted to know that the formula from Mr. Yan for the cough was effective…The character of the drugs in the formula for the hemorrhoids is smooth and neutral. I am hopeful that they can cure the illness."[36]

In contrast to the attentive care to her husband, Ershi mentioned in passing that one of her husband's concubines, Ms. Chen, had been ill several times, even as she also reported that concubine Chen immersed herself in needlework every day and was part of a harmonious family order.[37] She never provided details about Chen's illness, but generally attributed her bad bodily condition to her ignorance. Ershi said Chen did not have a serious illness, but was "feeling extremely tired." She lamented that "Whenever having any ailments, one should know by heart the origins of the illness, so that the bodily conditions can be properly regulated and the illness can be cured." Yet, she continued, the concubine Chen "was not aware of the root of her illness, and in this case even Yu Fu and Bian Que would have no way to cure the illness."[38] An ignorant concubine was even incapable of taking care of herself. Ershi asserted her role as the female head of the family by showing her mindfulness of the health condition of her children and her husband. Her report on the concubine's condition further delivered to

[34] Ibid., 602.
[35] Ibid., 601.
[36] Ibid., 603.
[37] Ibid., 609.
[38] Yu Fu and Bian Que were legendary surgeons in the reign of the mythical Yellow Emperor. Chen Ershi, *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 612.

her husband the message that she was benevolently overseeing every detail of the domestic order.

Moreover, Ershi presented her sensitivity in the regulation of her daily life and reflections on the use of different drugs for her own illnesses as part of her daily routine, which constituted her distinct identity as a learned woman and a capable wife.[39] She evaluated her bodily conditions and the availability of the required drugs, and then created formulas herself or made changes to formulas from doctors' published works. She also prepared the medicine for herself.[40] In one letter, she said that she was taking a formula prescribed by a doctor named Chungu 春谷,[41] and that the formula was very effective in "transforming phlegm and strengthening *qi*" (*xiao tan bu qi* 消痰補氣).[42] She wrote to her husband: "I have not made the pills yet, since I don't have *yushu* 於術 (Atractylodes macrocephala). So these days I am taking the four-substance decoction with modification." As she could not find usable *yushu* in the capital, she asked her husband to send some to her if he could get the drug. Within a month, she reported that Chungu's formula was "extraordinarily effective" (*shen tou* 甚投) and she was almost recovered. She told her husband that as she did not have *yushu*, she changed the doctor's prescribed formula based on its "guiding principle" (*fang yi* 方義).[43] She detailed: "I added *erchen* 二陳 (Pinellia ternata or crow-dipper and sun-dried Tangerine Peel) to the existing four-substance decoction "Four Gentlemen" (*si junzi* 四君子)[44] and used *yiren* 薏仁 (Coix lachrymal-jobi) as a substitute for *yushu*." After taking this for more than a

[39] Having been losing sleep for several nights due to aches and pains, Chen Ershi wrote a poem in the middle of the night when she felt totally relieved after reading the *Yeqi zhen* 夜气箴 by Zhen Dexiu (1178–1235), a Southern Song official.
[40] Chen Ershi did not mention which specific medical books she read.
[41] There is no evidence for us to determine whether the doctor named Chungu was male or female.
[42] Chen Ershi, *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 608.
[43] Ibid., 609.
[44] This is a very common formula consisting of *renshen* 人參 (Ginseng), *baishu* 白术 Atractylodis), *fulin* (茯苓 Poriae Cocos), and *zhi gancao* 炙甘草 (Radix Glycyrrhizae).

month, she reported: "I am feeling energetic, and my sleep and appetite are much better than usual."[45] Beyond her knowledge of drugs and formulas, she also synthesized her personal experience. She attributed the origin of her weakness in "bodily functions" (*shengli* 生理) to her failure to maintain her mental health: "I came to be aware that all my illnesses resulted from my own misdeeds. While I cannot change the past, I can improve in the future. I should avoid anxiety under any circumstances."[46] Upon an occurrence of excessive heat, she assured her husband that, "I know ways to regulate and nourish my body (*zi wei tiaoyang* 自為調養). Don't worry about me." This capacity for introspection and self-control is exactly what Ershi thought the concubine Chen lacked; she portrayed them as a source of her wifely moral authority.

Chen Ershi's letters demonstrate how knowledge from medical classics and recipe books, self-awareness of one's bodily condition, and concern over the regulation of daily life could be a substantial part of a woman's wifely role. Like their male counterparts, women in elite families had access to medical books as well as simple recipe collections. Chen Ershi consulted medical books for treating the illnesses of family members, and she also analyzed and made changes to formulas prescribed by doctors. In reporting the health conditions of family members to her faraway husband, she fashioned herself as a capable wife. Her detailed explanation on the character, use, and efficacy of drugs originated from her sense of responsibility as a mother and wife, and allowed her to articulate her emotional ties with her husband and children. For her, health issues were part of a good wife's daily household routine. Unlike Wang Zhenyi, who presented herself as a learned connoisseur of medical knowledge, Chen Ershi presented her domestic health care work as part of her wifely duties. In the next section, I analyze the biography that Chen Ershi wrote about her mother-in law, which reveals the moral and emotional significance that Chen attached to domestic health practices.

[45] Ibid., 610.
[46] Ibid., 609.

Building Family Tradition with Caring Words and Deeds

By writing biographies of senior female family members, daughters recorded and transmitted daily life lessons that they had learned from their mothers and grandmothers. Literate women composed prefaces, biographical verses, and prose pieces for their friends and husbands that were biographical in nature.[47] Chen Ershi consolidated her learning from senior women in her husband's family by writing their biographies. She not only wrote a biography for her mother-in-law Lady Qi, entitled "A Brief Summary of the Life of My Mother-in-law (*xiangu shulüe* 先姑述略), after her death in 1817, but also wrote a long biographical essay for several women in her husband's family under the tile "Records of Precepts" (*shuxun* 述訓). She even wrote a biography, "The Biography of Nursemaid Hu" (*Baomu Hu yu zhuan* 保姆胡嫗傳), for a servant who served in her natal family for seventeen years.[48] For the purposes of this chapter, I use her biography for her mother-in-law, which highlights health-care activities in every important life stage. In it, Ershi recorded her mother-in-law's close attention to the ailments of family members as a powerful expression of virtue worthy of transmission to later generations in the family. She also describes how women constructed emotional bonds between generations by taking care of each other's everyday health needs. Ershi's biography has two parts, the first part provides a chronological outline of Lady Qi's life, and the second part consists of an affectionate and admiring portrait of her domestic life with her mother-in-law. First, I will analyze the second part, mining it for evidence related to how Ershi established a

[47] Previously scholars like Ellen Widmer have placed these writings in the domain of women's literary production and have differentiated them from other forms of biographical writing dominated by male literati. Ellen Widmer has researched female poets' biographical writings from the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century in Jiangnan, including their preface writings for collections of other female poets and their writing of biographical verses and proses. Wilt Idema studies the seventeenth century female poet Bo Shaojun's poems mourning her deceased husband (*daowang shi* 悼亡詩) as a biographical text. Ellen Widmer, "Women as Biographers in Mid-Qing Jiangnan," in *Beyond Exemplar Tales: Women's Biography in Chinese History*, eds. Joan Judge and Hu Ying (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 246-261; Wilt Idema, "The Biographical and the Autobiographical in Bo Shaojun's One Hundred Poems Lamenting My Husband," in *Beyond Exemplar Tales*, eds. Joan Judge and Hu Ying (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2011), 230-245.

[48] Chen Ershi, "*Shuxun*" and "*Baomu huyu zhuan*," *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 587-593, 596.

bond with Lady Qi in domestic everyday practices. Then I will engage in a textual analysis of the first part, using it to discuss how Ershi drew on specific acts of healing care to construct and represent affective ties.

In her choice of of words and descriptions of deeds, Ershi presented an emotional bond established through the observance of daily actions and speeches over generations. As her father-in-law died early, Ershi did not have the chance to serve him; she devoted a large proportion of her daily energy to the needs of her mother-in-law. In a preface to a precept she wrote for her daughters in her collection, Ershi regretted that she did not do a good job assisting her mother-in-law in managing the household due to her weak body. She recalled that when Lady Qi was severely ill at the end of her life, she still told her that, "You don't need to accompany me, as your body is so weak."[49] In a similar manner, in the biography, she lamented that she could not alleviate Lady Qi's sorrow at having lost several grandchildren and her daughter. Ershi believed that Lady Qi's sadness caused "damage to her heart" and finally resulted in Lady Qi's death. As a witness to Lady Qi's daily deeds – in her words "having served my mother-in-law for seventeen years" – Ershi illustrated Lady Qi's benevolence through the way she treated visitors, servants, and other members of the extended family. She recalled that even in the last days of her life Lady Qi was still recollecting the hardship that her own mother-in-law Lady Shen experienced. Ershi wrote down her words: "Although I am ill, my only son is already thirty-years old. So I have no worries. When Lady Shen died, Xueshi *gong* (her son) was only twelve years old, and all of her daughters were still young. How distressed she was."[50] Like Lady Qi who modeled herself after Lady Shen, Ershi also presented herself as learning proper deportment from her mother-in-law.

In the first half of the essay, Ershi gave an outline of Lady Qi's life starting from her experience as a daughter in her natal family to her life after marriage. She detailed Lady Qi's travels to different places in Zhejiang province and, finally, to Beijing

[49] Chen Ershi, "Tingsonglou nüxun xu," *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 585.
[50] Chen Ershi, "Xiangu shulüe," *Tingsonglou yigao*, in *Jiangnan nüxing bieji chubian*, 595.

following her father and husband who were appointed as officials in different places. Along with information on the changing official titles of male family members and the movement of the family to different places, Ershi provided one anecdote for each of the important stages in the family's history. These anecdotes not only provide the only details about Lady Qi's everyday activities found in her biography, but these details all are related to health issues. Moreover, while the biography as a whole uses classical language, it quotes Lady Qi in vernacular language.

The first memorable moment is an emergency situation which happened when Lady Qi lived with her parents in Haining County in Zhejiang province: "When she was five, her mother suffered from an outbreak of her chronic throat problem. Even though she was but a small child, Lady Qi was shocked and cried out loudly. The relatives all gathered together and somehow, in the end relieved the crisis." Ershi continued her biographical account, highlighting the young Lady Qi's filial piety: "After that she got up frequently at night to check on her mother in case her throat problem recurred."[51] After her marriage, Lady Qi followed her husband to Jiaxing County and later moved back to her natal home in Haining County with her children when her husband went to Beijing. Her son, Ershi's husband, was physically weak and had experienced life-threatening illnesses three times before the age of six. Lady Qi was deeply worried over her son's health, as he was frequently ill. Ershi recorded that Lady Qi once told her and her daughters-in-law: "When I was a little girl, I got everything I wanted because my parents loved me so much. After I had grown up, I was thus often worried about doing anything wrong due to my short temper, so I tried to keep self-control at all times…Thanks to the benevolence of Heaven my son grew up safely." She continued, recalling her mother-in-law's earnest advice, "You both have children, so you should remember my words and do good things to accumulate virtue."[52] Ershi depicted Lady Qi's childhood sensitivity to the health condition of her mother as the first indication of her inborn filial piety. She also

[51] Ibid., 594.
[52] Ibid., 594.

used Lady Qi's own words to mark her development from an indulged child, to a mother anxious about the damage of her temper to her children's health, and to a mother-in-law advising the next generation to cultivate virtue in order to protect their own children by accumulating merit.

The next phase of Lady Qi's life started when her husband came back from Beijing for a vacation. At the time, she originally planned to go to Beijing with her husband. Yet her father fell ill, so she stayed in Haining to serve her father. From the spring to the summer, she "took care of my father to the extent of forgetting meals."[53] Later during their days in Beijing, Lady Wang, the sister-in-law of Lady Qi passed out upon hearing about her husband's death. At this critical moment, Lady Qi "held her and called loudly for help. Driven by the circumstance, she tried to use her forefinger to open Lady Wang's mouth. Lady Wang's teeth ground together and almost broke Lady Qi's finger. Lady Wang was finally saved, but the wound on Lady Qi's finger took more than a year to recover fully." Out of consideration for Lady Wang's emotional state, Lady Qi accompanied her to their hometown and stayed with her for months.[54] In Ershi's narrative, Lady Qi always prioritized taking care of family members.

Using detailed accounts of actions and words, Chen Ershi presents health issues as defining moments in her family memory. She illustrated Lady Qi's filial piety and maternal benevolence through her close attention to the health conditions of family members. She recorded Lady Qi's plain yet sympathetic words related to health care as a family tradition to be observed by later generations in the family. She positioned herself as learning women's virtue from Lady Qi's words and deeds. This connection between daily health-care practice and virtue could also be seen in a prescriptive text written by Liu Jian at the beginning of the twentieth century, which presents practical skills and knowledge as essentials for housewives to fulfill their domestic duties.

[53] Ibid., 594.
[54] Ibid., 595.

Weaving Trivial Things into Knowledge for Housewives

Liu Jian 劉鑒 (1852–1930), the wife of late-Qing military commander Zeng Guoquan's 曾國荃 (1824–1890) son Zeng Jiguan 曾紀官 (1852–1881) published her *Precepts for Women from the Zeng Family* (*Zengshi nüxun* 曾氏女訓) in 1907. She divided her book into ten chapters, which fall into four categories: "regulations for women" (*nüfan* 女範), "women's duties" (*nüzhi* 女職), "maternal education" (*mujiao* 母教), and "household administration" (*jiazheng* 家政).[55] The first chapter discusses the basic codes of behavior and learning for young girls. The second chapter provides a comprehensive outline to women's duties after marriage, ranging from serving their parents-in-law, taking care of family rituals and ritual instruments, serving their husbands, and cherishing brothers, sisters, and other juniors in the family to taking care of the teachers invited into the family, serving visiting friends and neighbors, educating children, and disciplining household workers. The third chapter is dedicated specifically to taking care of the elders. From the fourth to the ninth chapters, Liu discussed maternal education, including on how to take care of newborns, introductory courses for children, and lessons on ethical education, physical education, moral education, and intellectual education. The last chapter provides forty lessons on household administration, which introduces "housewives'" (*zhufu* 主婦) household tasks, such as establishing proper order and discipline among family members and household workers, promoting diligent and thrifty habits, and managing household properties and making records. This arrangement of content follows the life course of a woman, during which her roles changed from a daughter to a housewife.

Throughout the ten chapters, Liu Jian shifted among different words for women – "women in the family" (*jiafu* 家婦), "housewives" (*zhufu* 主婦), "wives" (*renfu* 人婦),

[55] Liu Jian, "Xu," *Zengshi nüxun* (Changsha: Zhongxiang gongci, 1907), *juan* 1, 3.

"female members in a family" (*fu* 婦), "mothers" (*mushi* 母氏) – in her discussion of different fields of women's duties. "Women in the family" (*jiafu* 家婦)," "wives (*renfu* 人婦)," and "female members in a family" (*fu* 婦) were used in discussing women's relationships with other family members and ritual issues; "housewives" was used in discussing household administration; "mothers" was used in discussing children's education. All these roles referred to different aspects of the domestic duties of the primary wife, who Liu Jian positioned as the head of household administration. And she provided instructions on how to fulfill these roles in lessons that specify practices and skills.

Liu Jian published her book just when the Qing court acknowledged institution-based women's education for the first time in 1907. Thus official discussion and public debate over women's education provided the immediate social context of Liu's book.[56] Prior to the new imperial-level regulations on school education for women, women's education was part of family education that was not subject to official oversight. At the time Liu Jian wrote her book, debates among officials and intellectuals of varied political and cultural agendas had already brought women's issues to the forefront of discussions on the nation state, citizenship, and China's survival, which dominated newspapers, journals, and newly compiled handbooks for citizens.[57] In February of 1908, Wu Qingdi 吳慶砥 (1848–1924), a former commissioner of education in Sichuan and Hunan, wrote a conservative preface for Liu's book. In his preface, Wu highlights a tradition of women's learning that originated in the Zhou dynasty and which had flourished through the Qing dynasty. He posits that the state's efforts to uphold and promote moral principles and private efforts to compile biographies of exemplary women and precepts

[56] Liu Jian, "Xu," *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 2.
[57] Joan Judge, "Citizens or Mothers of Citizens: Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship," in *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China*, eds. Elizabeth Perry and Merle Goldman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Contemporary China Series, 2002), 23-43.

for women together served to guarantee the maintenance of this tradition. He states that as a result of these efforts, "Throughout the dynasties, women's virtues and duties became social customs (*fengsu* 風俗), and the moral principle (*lifa* 理法) and the classic teachings (*dianjiao* 典教) were never lost."[58] Not mentioning the then current controversies regarding women's learning, Wu writes that the Qing court's new policy of promoting women's education was meant to perfect the already existing tradition.[59] Wu identifies two genres of women's precepts, one, represented by Liu Xiang's *Biographies of Women* (*Lienü zhuan* 列女傳), illustrates "actions" (*shixing* 實行); the other, represented by Ban Zhao's *Admonitions for Women* (*Nü jie* 女誡), "lays out principles" (*yili* 義理). Wu praises Liu Jian's book as being deeply imbued with Confucian teachings and places the book in the latter tradition. He praises Liu's book for its refined prose like that of Ban Zhao, its differing from superficial customs, and up-to-date organization.[60] By praising its organization, he spotlights how Liu's book supplemented the insufficient or incomplete aspects of the inherited tradition.

Wu situates Liu's book within a lineage extending from the Zhou to the (then) present, and thereby under a dynastic agenda. Yet Liu Jian herself positioned her work more cautiously in relation to current controversies around women's education. In Liu's view, the saying that "A woman of no talent is virtuous" was totally misleading. It was not their talent per se but their bad disposition that harmed their virtue. Liu insisted that learned women were able to help accomplish tasks that men could not accomplish.[61] Furthermore, she lamented that women's learning was insufficiently defined, and the debate over whether women should be educated at home or at school remained unresolved. Liu states that she did not intend to choose sides in this debate, and that she

[58] Wu Qingdi, "Xu," in Liu Jian, *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 2-3.
[59] Ibid., 3.
[60] Ibid., 2-3.
[61] Liu Jian, "Xu," *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 1-2.

was only writing this book for domestic use in educating young girls in her family.[62] By framing the book as a family project, Liu avoided taking a side in contemporary controversies.

However, Liu's book differs from most textbooks on ethics for women at this time in its emphasis on women's roles in the domestic sphere. Published textbooks usually placed women in a discourse of citizenship. For example, *The Introductory Women's Ethics Textbook* (*Chudeng nüzi xiushen jiaokeshu* 初等女子修身教科書), a textbook published in 1906 by a commercial publisher in Shanghai covered five themes in twenty illustrated lessons: filial piety, sense of community, thrift, cleanliness, and hygiene; each of them accompanied by two or three stories for a total of twenty pages. Each lesson is composed of an illustration and a page of short phrases summarizing the theme of the lesson. Its simplicity signals a new audience distinct from that of Liu Jian's book, as it consisted of less educated women. The short phrases in the lesson on "cleanliness" (*qingjie* 清洁) urged women to keep their domestic spaces clean: "Sweeping the floor of the courtyard, wiping the tables, and washing the clothes and utensils…Maintaining cleanliness is to form a habit."[63] The lesson on "hygiene" (*weisheng* 衛生) states, "Everyone (*renren* 人人) should keep hygienic, with no difference between men and women…Clothes, food, and housing, all should be cared for… The study of hygiene is a specialized knowledge. Hoping that all women (*nüjie* 女界) will take good care of themselves."[64] While the lesson on cleanliness still placed women in charge of maintaining the cleanliness of domestic spaces, it suggested that this cleanliness was a matter of "habit," which was an implicit requirement for citizens.[65] This

[62] Ibid., *juan* 1, 2-3.
[63] He Qi, *Chudeng nüzi xiushen jiaokeshu* (Shanghai: Huiwen shuju, 1906), 17.
[64] Ibid., 17-18.
[65] Here the habit of hygiene is primarily concerned with one's domestic life. Similar emphasis on home as an important arena of hygienic habit could also be seen in the writings of public advocates in the 1930s, who attributed the cause of tuberculosis to unhygienic domestic habit. See Sean Hsiang-lin Lei,

lesson of hygiene thus was part of the newly emerging discourse on the relationship between personal hygiene and the nation state.[66]

Unlike this popular textbook from 1906, Liu Jian's book published the following year presented the production and accumulation of knowledge in the domestic context, and provided much more detailed practical guide for daily life. Meanwhile, Liu wrote her book for an elite audience, and she carefully kept her practical guide within an older moral discourse. In their prefaces, for example, both Wu Qingdi and Liu Jian open their essays with references to the venerable tradition of women's learning. They thus suggest that the essentials and the principles of the book were inherited from the teachings of the ancient sages and ancestors, even as the book also foregrounds practical skills acquired through quotidian practice. Liu carved out this space for practice in a modest manner: "The other entries on everyday life, which have no root in the classical teachings were just superficial conjectures from my personal knowledge."[67]

Liu's book looks more like eighteenth-century guides for female behavior, such as Chen Hongmou's 陳宏謀 (1696–1771) *Inherited Guidelines for Women's Education* (*Jiaonü yigui* 教女遺規), which gives detailed advice on women's daily behavior, than it does like early twentieth-century textbooks on home management. Despite the lineage of principles and customs referenced in the prefaces, Liu devoted the majority of her lessons to practical knowledge rather than moral teaching. Even in the first chapter on regulations for women, Liu gave advice through detailed explanations of daily concerns. For example, her advice extended to a discussion about why young girls should simplify their dress and

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"Habituating Individuality: The Framing of Tuberculosis and Its Material Solutions in Republican China," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 84.2 (2010): 248-79.

[66] For a detailed analysis of the new discourse connecting personal hygiene with modernity especially in the urban setting, see Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 225-253.

[67] Liu Jian, "Xu," *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 1-3.

personal adornment, prevent unrestrained entertainment, and keep away from superstition.[68]

Liu presented concern over the health conditions of family members as an integral part of this practical knowledge. Detailed advice on health-related practices was especially rich in her discussion of women taking care of the elderly and children and household administration. In the second chapter on women's duties, Liu Jian detailed how to take care of parents-in-law. These lessons on women's duties not only position women as primary actors in overseeing the cleanliness of the domestic spaces and the health condition of the most important elderly family members, they also present an illuminating case of knowledge of regulating women's everyday activities in the domestic space, comparable to the individual-oriented discourse on "nourishing life" (*yangsheng* 養生) in the writings of their male counterparts. She stated that the principle of caring for the elderly is "to pay close attention out of sincerity" (*chengyi titie* 誠意體貼).[69] Referring to the rule as the teaching of the "ancients" (*guren* 古人), she pointed out three aspects of taking care of the elders: "nourishing the emotional mood" (*yang zhi* 養志), "nourishing the mouth" (*yang kou* 養口), and "nourishing the body" (*yang ti* 養體). In the first two lessons, she highlighted nourishing the emotional mood. Then, she spent five lessons discussing diet and physical care, with reference to her own experiences related to everyday routine, diet, clothing, diseases, and the arrangement of rooms. Here, women appeared as major actors who helped their husbands take care of their parents. The arena of taking care of the old, which requires "sincere attention to bodily conditions" and the arrangement of material things, is exactly what Liu Jian referred to in

[68] Liu Jian. *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 6-8.
[69] Ibid., 9.

her preface as the matters that are beyond the reach of men and can be accomplished best by educated women.[70]

Stating examples from her own experience, Liu Jian pointed out that the unwillingness to get up in the morning might be caused by a deficiency of the Blood and disorder of the Heart Channel, and thus one should advise the elder to have a catnap during the daytime. On warmer days, one should encourage the elderly to go outside of the house, but also to prevent their over consumption of energy.[71] Liu Jian refuted a common belief in the similarity of the digestive function of infants and the elderly. She maintained that the basics of guarding life lie in cooking. The digestion of the elderly is weak, and thus the food should be fully cooked to the extent that it won't cause a lump in the throat.[72] Due to their internal deficiency, the old can be more easily hurt by a hot or cold wind, so one should prepare the proper kinds of clothes in advance according to the weather. She discussed suitable clothing for different weather conditions based on the family's economic status. Shoes for elders, for instance, should be loose so they won't block the flow of the blood and channels.[73] She noted that the elderly are usually insensitive to the changes of their body, so one should pay close attention to their daily life. If the old get ill and refuse to see a doctor, one should soothe their anxiety and invite a doctor that one knew well. She advised that women in the family should prepare the doctor's prescribed medicine for the elder family member.[74] Liu Jian also discussed how domestic spaces should be properly arranged so that the old can walk around in the daytime and have a good rest at night: the old like dry and quiet rooms with windows facing the south, and the courtyard should be spacious and decorated with plants and flowers. Things that are regularly used should be placed in proper order to prevent unexpected falls. One should burn pine and cypress leaves regularly to expel polluting

[70] Liu Jian, "Xu," *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 1.
[71] Liu Jian, *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 1, 19-20.
[72] Ibid., 20-21.
[73] Ibid., 21-22.
[74] Ibid., 22-23.

air.[75] Her advice regarding the arrangement of domestic spaces reveals her high social status.

Liu Jian also wove her description of daily practices and experience into a framework that used newly available terms and yet was fundamentally traditional in terms of its conception of women's place in their households and society. For example, her chapters on maternal education and household administration incorporate explicitly new concepts of the time. Liu entitled her seventh chapter "physical education" (*tiyu* 體育), followed by another chapter on "moral education" (*deyu* 德育), both of which were new categories.[76] In the chapter on "physical education," Liu connected the physical development of body and everyday deportment to the moral and intellectual quality of a child.[77] These chapters were still listed under a traditional title, "maternal education" (*mujiao* 母教). Liu Jian also used a newly popularized word, "Household Administration" (*jiazheng* 家政) as the title of her final chapter.[78] Yet in Liu's book this new term was explicated by a series of existent practices and experiences from Liu's own domestic life, many aspects of which was the topics discussed in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guides to women's education. Liu's use of the term also conveys old connotations descending from the eighteenth-century ideal of women as moral instructresses: individual households were the basis of the dynastic order.

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[75] Ibid., 23-24.
[76] For a study on the cultural and political significance of physical education in the early twentieth century, see Andrew Morris, *Marrow of the Nation: a History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 2004.
[77] Liu Jian, *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 2, 22-28.
[78] Starting from the first several years of the twentieth century, Shimoda Utako's (1854–1936) *The Science of Household Administration* (*Jiazheng xue* 家政學) had gained popularity among reform-minded officials, intellectuals, as well as their female family members. From the year 1902 to 1903, three translations of the book were published in China. For the three translations of Shimoda Utako's book, see Huang Xiangjin, "Cong miaotang zhi gao dao jianghu zhi yuan: Xiatian Gezi jiazheng xue zai Zhongguo," *Shanxi shida xuebao* 34.5 (2007): 88-92. Joan Judge discusses Shimoda Utako's relationship with Chinese students in Japan and the different views held by Shimoda Utako and Chinese oversea students on the women's contribution to family and the society in the early twentieth century, see Joan Judge. "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century," *The American Historical Review*, 106.3 (2001): 744-801.

In a brief introduction to her chapter on "household administration," Liu Jian made an analogy between the management of home and that of the state. Here, she is not referring to the "nation state" but rather her discussion of state management is in accordance with her dynastic framework: "For education in the inner chamber, it is already perfectly satisfactory that women's Way, women's duties, and maternal education is covered." Liu Jian stated, "Yet, there is still the issue of household management. Households are the basis of the state. Only methods that work for the household could be used to manage a state." For her, the head of the household is the "housewife" (*zhufu* 主婦), who must "realize the way of cultivating the talented ones, understand the way of wealth accumulation, oversee the principles of protection and preservationism (*fanghu baoshou zhi dagang* 防護保守之大綱), and know the ways of concrete strategies and practices (*chousuan caozuo zhi xifa* 籌算操作之細法)."[79] In the forty lessons following the introduction, she elaborates on the issues of establishing the proper order and discipline among family members and household workers, clarifying duties, rewards, and punishment, promoting diligence and thrift, dealing with community affairs and relationships with relatives, managing household properties, and keeping household records.

Liu lists four lessons directly related to health care towards the end of the chapter: namely, "helping the sick," "preparing medicine," "making food," and "promoting hygiene." In the lesson on "helping the sick," Liu positioned housewives as the overseers of the health condition of all the family members and workers in the family, in Liu's words, "from the elderly and the venerable to the young and the humble." Liu advised that, the housewives should determine the origin of the ailment. If it is a mild one, then ready-made drugs should be used. If it is acute and dangerous and the housewife "cannot reach a reliable conclusion," then she "should invite a doctor," who was "trained by a

[79] Liu Jian, *Zengshi nüxun*, *juan* 3, 1.

good teacher and had prescribed effective formulas in the community." In this way, one can avoid the indiscretion of "testing formulas on the patient." Liu Jian further advised: "as the doctor can only make a judgment through looking, listening, questioning, and taking the pulse, it is important for the housewife to know the basics in medical theories, the conditions of the channels (*maixing zhi xu shi* 脉性之虚实), and the character of drugs (*yaoxing zhi gong bu* 药性之攻补)…When the doctor makes any judgment, she should discuss the illness with the doctor, so that she can have certainty."[80] A capable housewife thus was expected to be able to observe and analyze the bodily condition of family members. In addition, the housewives should make sure that kitchen utensils are clean, for example, so that no bacteria and mold occur in food and water and that food is properly stored. The housewives should reduce expenses on banquet foods and luxurious clothes and use the saved money to prepare medicines, which can be distributed to poor people when there are epidemics.[81]

Besides discussing the use of medicines, Liu further urged women to consider health issues as part of the overall domestic order. In the last lesson on "promoting hygiene," Liu made an analogy between the many projects of a "civilized" (*wenming* 文明) state, such as building public parks and hospitals, and a housewife's responsibilities at home. Liu advised, housewives should "investigate the bodily condition of family members and the economic condition of the family" to decide on the arrangement of domestic spaces, diet, daily activities, and the use of medicines in a proper manner in her individual household. These measures were to be followed by "eliminating anxieties, reducing excessive thoughts, and being contented with one's fate and performing one's duties (*anming shoufen* 安命守分)." In this way, Liu Jian concluded: "All the family members in the household are living in a faithful, orderly, and joyful manner (*zhongshun*

[80] Ibid., 27.
[81] Ibid., 29-30.

yuyue 忠順愉悅). Hygiene is really beneficial."[82] Here, she again used a newly popular word "hygiene," taking it as something related to everyday habits and activities. But she positioned home as its main arena, placed women in charge of it, and set its ultimate goal as keeping domestic order. She was at the conservative end of a spectrum, at the other end of which hygiene stood for personal habits of citizens or the public health of a nation state.

Liu Jian's precepts envision health care as one of the many domestic duties and practical skills carried out by women in domestic space: women should be responsible for "women's duties," including maintaining the cleanliness of domestic spaces and taking care of the elders; mothers should take care of their children's physical development; and housewives should be in charge of all the health related issues in the family. She promoted these women's duties as part of "moral principles and classical teaching" (禮教 *lijiao*), a tradition that ostensibly had its roots in antiquity and which was considered essential for the prosperity of the dynasty. She wrote this book for women as family members, who will become housewives after marriage, and who hold their final agenda as contributing to the home, which was in her writings deeply enmeshed in a nested hierarchy with society and the state. In her book, we see that sincerity and the ability to observe, analyze, and regulate the bodily condition of family members, especially the elders and children, constituted a field of knowledge generated and transmitted by women. The book presents practical knowledge and skills associated with caring for family members' health as essential to both material and moral domestic order. During the nineteenth century, biographies and letters, as well as handbooks, all used domestic roles to assert women's virtues. Liu Jian's book not only demonstrates the power of practice but also presents another creative effort of weaving together trivial things of everyday life into a powerful expression of moral significance.

[82] Ibid., 31.

Two Images of a Filial Daughter's Care for Her Ill Mother

During the upheaval immediately following the Wuchang uprising in October 1911, Chen Shoupeng 陳壽彭 (1855–?) ordered his daughter Chen Hong 陳虹 to collect and compile her deceased elder sister Yun's writings. The final products were two collections, one of her poetry, entitled *The Remaining Works of Filial Daughter Chen* (*Chen Xiaonü yiji* 陳孝女遺集), and the other her commentaries on more than two hundred female writers in the Qing, a work titled *Poetic Commentaries on Poetry from the Younger Black Jade Pavilion* (*Xiaodai xuan lunshi shi* 小黛軒論詩詩). Chen Shoupeng wrote a preface and a biography and placed a proposal written by his colleagues recommending Yun for official honors as a filial daughter at the beginning of the first collection. Hong contributed a short biographical essay. Yun's own preface was also included. Biographical in nature, these writings all present Yun's care for her sick mother at the center, though they attach different meanings to her actions. The official proposal and Yun's father's account presented these episodes of health care at bedside as an expression of her inborn filial piety; Yun herself expressed her belief in the curing power of pleasing her mother with her literary learning. Representation in relation to family health problems clearly served as an arena for performance of both virtue, in this case filial piety, and talent.

After Chen Yun's death in September 1911, one month before the Wuchang uprising, more than ten officials from the same native place as Chen Shoupeng who were serving in Beijing wrote a letter to the Censorate to propose officially honoring Yun as a filial daughter.[83] In this highly moralistic letter, they narrated how Yun had taken care of her mother, Xue Shaohui 薛紹徽 (1866–1911), an advocate and reformer of women's

[83] Chen Shoupeng, "Zhangnü Yun zhuanlüe," *Chen xiaonü yiji*, 1911, 2.

education in the late Qing, while her condition deteriorated from illness.[84] Episodes of bedside attendance illustrated Yun's close attention to her mother's physical wellness. When her mother began coughing in the winter, Yun "served the decoction and never moved a step from her mother." After the family moved to Beijing, Yun's mother's health condition deteriorated precipitously. The authors described Yun's close attendance during this time by comparing her to historical filial son models: "Yun helped her mother with her bodily movements and changed her clothes. Throughout the day, she washed utensils and clothes whenever needed as did the filial son Shi Jian 石建. She closely examined her mother's bodily condition just like Qianlou 黔婁 who tasted his father's stool."[85] Yun's filial nature was further dramatized by her secretly cutting off a piece of flesh from her arm, "keeping a brave face" (*yanse bubian* 顏色不変), at the last moments of her mother's life. The petition to the Censorate requesting honors concluded with Yun's pathetic death from refusal to eat due to excessive grief following her mother's death. They further added that the girl had refused to marry in order to take care of her mother for twelve years.[86] At the end of the essay, the writers confirmed that all the people nearby acknowledged that, "Thanks to her diligent work her mother's chronic illness was well controlled for an extended period."[87] Not expecting the Wuchang uprising which followed a month later, they claimed, "We can expect that the [anticipated] celebration of filial conduct will lead to an improvement in social mores/customs (*shi fengsu zhuanyi zhi luzheng* 實風速轉移之路徵)."[88]

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[84] For Xue Shaohui's life, see Qian Nanxiu, *Politics, Poetics, and Gender in Late Qing China: Xue Shaohui (1866–1911) and the Era of Reform* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).
[85] Li Jun et al, "Chenwen," in *Chen xiaonü yiji,* 2a. Shi Jian lived during the Western Han Dynasty. Yu Qianlou is a filial son living during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. For Yu Qianlou's story, see Guo Futing, *Illustrated Stories of Twenty Four Filial Exemplars* (*Ershi si xiao tu shuo* 二十四孝圖說), 1935, 27. For Shi Jian's story, see Yu Baozhen, *Illustrated Stories of Filial Exemplars* (*Baixiao tu shuo* 百孝圖說), 1871.
[86] Li Jun et al, "Chenwen," in *Chen xiaonü yiji,* 2.
[87] Ibid., 2.
[88] Ibid., 3.

The writers of the letter presented these episodes in which Yun cared for her ill mother in order to prove Yun's filial piety. The elements of dramatic emotions and morally inspired determination were prominent in this official petition. The actual practices and experience are not relevant; what is critical here is that her filial piety (expressed through her constant care) is "rooted in her inborn nature" (*gen hu tianxing* 根乎天性).[89] They praised Yun as a self-disciplined daughter and emphasized Yun's hard work and her extreme anxiety and sadness in taking care of her mother. Yun's father used words very similar to those in letter proposing honors in his description of Yun's care for her mother. Yet he presented a narrative inflected with more personal affection. He placed Yun's life course in the context of a peaceful and joyful domestic setting, in which literary writing was indispensable. In the preface, he recalled the thirteen-year old Yun learning poetry from his friend Chen Youzhen 陳右箴 (ca. late nineteenth cent.), who was invited to be a teacher in the family. Two years later, Yun "abandoned her literary learning" (*chuoxue* 輟學) and took over the responsibility of managing all the domestic issues when her mother fell ill after giving birth to a son. After that, Yun took care of her mother's daily activities at her bedside, and looked after her newborn younger brother. Yun's mother "did not like to have close contact with servants. As she felt that they (i.e., the servants) had a disgusting smell…Yun was considerate of her mother's feeling and took care of cooking and making the medicinal decoctions herself."[90] Chen Shoupeng lamented: "Her mother felt relieved, and I was also able to have a smile on my face."[91]

Although Chen Shoupeng's account basically repeated the words used in the officials' account to describe how Yun took care of her mother, he places more emphasis on how Yun comforted her mother emotionally. Yun's mother, in spite of her diminished

[89] Ibid.,1. For a discussion of Chen Hongmou's (1696-1771) eighteenth-century conception of the daughter-in-law's role as "derived from the Heavenly order of things" (*fayu tianxing*), see William Rowe, "Women in the Family in Mid-Qing Social thought: The Case of Chen Hongmou," *Late Imperial China* 13.2 (1992): 3.
[90] Chen Shoupeng, "Zhangnü Yun zhuanlüe,"1, in *Chen xiaonü yiji*, 2.
[91] Chen Shoupeng, "Xu," in *Chen xiaonü yiji*, 1.

physical health, suddenly decided to compile a collection of biographies of Qing female writers. When he suggested it was a large project and could not be completed in a short time. Yun's mother responded with excitement: "Even if I die, Shuyi (Yun's poetic name, *hao*) can follow in my footsteps."[92] Yun therefore wrote commentaries on Qing female writers and read their poetry and her commentaries to her mother, and "her mother often forgot her illness out of joy."[93] Chen Shoupeng recalled how Yun sometimes delighted her mother by debating details in these commentaries with her younger sister Hong.[94] In the midst of political upheaval, he ended his preface to Yun's poetry collection:

> Before June of last year Yun still looked lovely reading poetry surrounded by the medical pots and teacups, though her mother was terminally ill. Even though I only had meager earnings, because the family was still complete I felt great pleasure. But now I feel like I am in another world. I don't even know whether I am alive or dead.[95]

In Chen Shoupeng's narrative, the images of Yun reading poetry and preparing medical decoctions coexisted. In Yun's account of her life as well as in her poems written to her aunt, sisters, and father, we see how she devoted all of her energy to the management of domestic affairs, and more importantly, found comfort in her ability to entertain her mother with writing poetry. In Yun's narrative it is not her household management that pleased her mother, but her writings. She fashioned her literary talent as a type of medicine that was more effective than a prescription. Yun wrote several poems to her aunt expressing her worries about her mother's worsening health problems along with the family's relocation to different places.[96] While away from her father, she wrote a poem to report the recurrence of her mother's coughing when the weather became colder. The poem reads, "The medicine was not effective; and sometimes there was blood

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[92] Ibid.
[93] Chen Shoupeng, "Zhangnü Yun zhuanlüe," in *Chen xiaonü yiji,* 2.
[94] Chen Shoupeng, "Xu," in *Chen xiaonü* yiji, 1-2.
[95] Ibid., 2.
[96] Chen Yun, "Ji yimu," *juan shang*, 8b; "Duzhong ji yimu" *juan xia* 13b, in *Chen xiaonü yiji*.

coming out of her throat. My heart cannot be peaceful, but I have no one else to talk to about my worries." After reporting on her sister's and brothers' studies and reminding her father to take good care of himself, she concluded the poem with words to encourage herself: "I will write more in the hope of comforting my mother's heart."[97]

Yun expressed a strong hope that her poetry and commentaries could have a curative effect on her mother. She asserted that "women's learning" (*nüxue* 女學) encompasses "women's domestic duties" (*fugong* 婦工) including weaving, embroidering, and cooking, as well as "women's virtue" (*fude* 婦德) and "women's speech" (*fuyan* 婦言). And for the latter two, she confirmed: "One cannot find them elsewhere, other than from women's literary learning."[98] She thus collected poetry by various authors for her sister Hong to discuss with their mother after dinner, and compiled casual notes on these writers' lives in order to share these details with her mother. She noted excitedly that, upon reading commentaries, her mother said, "I will get up from my sickbed and compile a book of biographies based on your list of writers!" Upon hearing this, Yun continued, "I told my younger sister Hong: 'Could this be a turning point for our mother's illness? And could this be a turning point for the education of women?'" Yun concluded, "In writing these commentaries, it was not my intention to discuss poetry, but rather to entertain my mother."[99] Here, she emphasized her virtuous intent: the project was motivated by filial devotion to an ill parent, rather than literary interest. Care for health problems legitimated performance of talent.

Yun's belief in the healing power of her commentaries derived from the hope she

[97] Chen Yun, "ji jiayan shanghai," *Chen xiaonü yiji*, *juan shang*, 7a.

[98] Here, Chen Yun apparently followed her mother Xue Shaohui who defined "womanly words" (*fuyan* 婦言) as women's scholarly and literary learning and "womanly work" (*fugong* 婦功) as artistic and scientific learning, both of which were essential for women to perform "womanly virtue" (*fude* 婦德), which Xue newly defined as women's capability to assist their families rather than chastity. Qian Nanxiu, "'Borrowing Foreign Mirrors and Candles to Illuminate Chinese Civilization': Xue Shaohui's Moral Vision in the *Biographies of Foreign Women*," in *Beyond Tradition and Modernity: Gender, Genre, and Cosmopolitanism in Late Qing China*, eds., Grace S. Fong, Nanxiu Qian, Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden&Boston: Brill, 2004), 68; Chen Yun, "Xu," *Xiaodai xuan lunshi shi*, 1911, 1-2.

[99] Chen Yun, "Xu," *Xiaodai xuan lunshi shi*, 1-2.

and her mother shared for the restoration of women's learning. In the preface to *Commentaries on Poetry from the Younger Black Jade Pavilion*, Yun lamented that women's writings and "women's gentle character" (*roushun zhi zhi* 柔順之質) "were obscured in the spreading weeds and foggy wilderness" (*fu zhu huang yan man cao yanmo* 付諸荒煙蔓草淹沒) —in other words—women's writings and gentle character are lost in the wilderness and desolation of her time. She attributed this to the difficulty in the transmission of women's writings during the Qing and chaotic debates about women's learning in contemporary society. Feeling indignant about this, she repeated this phrase three times. She recalled that her father had obtained more than six hundred collections of women's writings for her, but the number of recorded titles was more than this. She thus criticized compilers of later days, as compared to the compiler of the *Book of Songs*, for their ignorance of women's "tender and good natured words" (*wenrou dunhou* 溫柔端厚). She also criticized those who promote "convoluted and exaggerated theories" (*youmiao kuadan zhi shuo* 幽渺誇誕之說) on women's learning.

Unlike the official proposal nominating Yun for honors and her father's preface, which stated that Yun's mother gave birth to Yun's younger brother and, subsequently, got a "Blood Disease" (*xueji* 血疾), which finally developed into *laoliao* 癆療 (probably tuberculosis).[100] Yun concluded, "My mother had been feeling sad about these problems [in poetry transmission] for years, and her worries finally developed into ailments." The

[100] Li Jun et al, "Chenwen," in *Chen xiaonü yiji,* 2; Chen Shoupeng, "Zhangnü Yun zhuanlüe," 1 and "Xu," 1, in *Chen xiaonü yiji*. For a discussion of the multiples ways in which different actors in the early twentieth century assimilated the western etiology of tuberculosis which was based on germ-theory into the preexisting Chinese conceptions of consumption related illnesses (*lao*), see Bridie Andrews, "Tuberculosis and the Assimilation of Germ Theory in China, 1895–1937," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 52 (1997): 114-157. Lei Sean Hsiang-lin has looked into how Chinese intellectuals understood tuberculosis as a disease rooted in the problematic Chinese family rather than a social disease. See Lei Sean Hsiang-lin, "Xiguan cheng siwei: Xinshenghuo yundong yu feijiehe fangzhi zhongde lun li, jiating, yu shengti," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 74 (2011): 133-177. Charlotte Furth discusses the connection between Blood disorder and women's diseases. Charlotte Furth, "Blood, Body and Gender: Medical Images of the Female Condition in China, 1660–1850," in *Chinese Femininities/ Chinese Masculinities*, eds. Susan Brownell and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 291-314.

notion that excessive emotions cause illnesses can be traced back to the *Inner Canon*, and the idea that illnesses, especially chronic depression, could be cured with counter-emotions became popular by way of late imperial fiction like the seventeenth-century novel *Jinpingmei* (*Plum in the Golden Vase*) and the eighteenth-century family epic *Honglou Meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*).[101] Chen Yun actually presented her literary learning as a way of curing her mother by eliciting happiness to balance sadness. As Hong confirmed in her note, her sister's writings were "sincerely intended to entertain" their mother, and she often debated with her mother on the commentaries until she saw a "beaming smile on her face."[102]

In the proposal for official honors, biography, and prefaces for Chen Yun's poetry and commentaries, we see different interpretations of a daughter's care and consideration for her mother's health. The official discourse emphasized physical attendance and dramatic emotions at the mother's bedside as demonstrations of filial piety emanating from the daughter's inner nature. Yun's father articulated this filial piety in a more emotional way, placing Yun's physical attendance and literary talent in the context of a joyful domestic sphere. In his account, it is Yun's hard work in managing household affairs and caring for her mother that guarded the familial order. He stressed that Yun had greatly comforted her parents through diligent work and writing poetry and commentaries. He did not see any conflict between women's domestic virtue and their literary talent. Yet, both the official proposal and the writings by Yun's father used schematized language to describe Yun's health care activities. Whereas they both asserted that Yun's mother had *laoliao* (tuberculosis), and that Yun was taking care of

[101] Andrew Schonebaum's study shows that the authors of these two fictional works introduced their work as medicine, either being able to prevent depression through providing negative role models to alert the reader or to cure the depression by providing delight and disciplined ways of life. Both male and female after the late Ming shared this textual overlap between medicine and fiction, which highlighted the literati aesthetic ideal of fail women. Yet, male literati believed that women were less able to use fiction as medicine as their depression was more easily exacerbated by the novel. Nathan Sivin, "Emotional Counter-Therapy," in *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995), 2-19; Andrew Schonebaum, "For the Relief of Melancholy: The Early Chinese Novel as Antidepressant," in *Depression and Narrative: Telling the Dark*, ed. Hilary Clark (State University of New York Press, 2008), 179-194. Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China*.

[102] Chen Hong, "An," *Xiaodai xuan lunshi shi*, 2.

her mother for this physical illness, Yun asserted that her mother's illness was rooted in her sadness over the oblivion of women's writings and the loss of women's learning, and thus the most effective way to relieve the pain was to comfort her mother emotionally through preserving women's literature.

The differences among these texts describing a daughter's provision of care to her mother all suggest the role played by prevailing ideas about gender, morality, and literary talent in representations and definitions of health care within the domestic sphere. Yun portrayed herself as a talented daughter who expresses her virtue through literary learning; the official discourse told of a filial daughter's devotion to her parent. In the first case, she treated her mother's illness with her literary talent; in the latter account, she treats her mother with her inner virtue of filial piety. In both contexts, albeit with contrasting emphases, physical care occupies a central place in defining the daughter's virtue.

Conclusion

This chapter shows the meanings of talent, virtue, and home had been defining issues in representations of domestic health care as they were in representations of family and state from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Women in elite families engaged in learning a wide range of health-related knowledge, including that of literati medicine, folk recipes, and skills for regulating daily life. During the nineteenth century, elite women carved out a space for their medical learning in their domestic life by positioning medicine as practical knowledge necessary for performing their domestic roles, rather than as a field of literary learning. While Wang Zhenyi struggled with the consequences of her medical learning in the late eighteenth century, Chen Ershi and Liu Jian in the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century saw the necessity of passing on women's virtuous therapeutic deeds to later generations in their families. They justified their knowledge with reference to morality and the proper fulfillment of their roles as wives, mothers, and daughters. They promoted themselves as

transmitters of practice and virtue in the households; they legitimated their image as role models for later generations in their families through details of health-related practices and skills. And they presented their care for family members' bodily conditions as indispensable everyday practice to maintain the morally and materially ordered domestic space that was understood as foundational to the imperial order.

It is noteworthy that Liu Jian presented her detailed knowledge for everyday practice primarily for women in elite families. The women in her intended audience were expected to contribute to the home and indirectly through nested hierarchies of governance from the family to the dynastic state. In her writing there is a form of self-publicity that was not explicitly proclaimed yet could plausibly be celebrated. In the next chapter, I present a case study of a transitional female figure, Zeng Yi 曾懿 who penned writings on medicine and health care in the first decade of the twentieth century. In her writings, we will see a new claim for publicizing women's domestic knowledge not present in the writings of her female predecessors just discussed, particularly highlighting domestic health care, for the wellness of the newly conceived nation state.

Chapter Five: Integrating Medicine into Women's Learning in the late Qing: The Case of Zeng Yi (1853–1927)

At the turn of the twentieth century, ideas about women, health, and the nation were interconnected, and came to be contested by people of varied political and social agendas. Reformers and intellectuals, men and women, debated in newspapers and journals about women's roles in their homes and their significance to the nation. Zeng Yi was among many of her contemporaries who felt the urgent need to reevaluate the past in service to the present. In her inscription to her *Essays on Women's Learning* (*Nüxue pian* 女學篇), she ask, "How much do I resemble the self I was?" Her answer was an unwavering one, namely that she had preserved unchanged an "unadorned quality" (*tianzhen* 天真, literally "heavenly genuineness") that had been cultivated in her domestic life.[1] She thereby expressed a strong belief that her past learning and experience remained important for the present. New concerns about women's roles in nation strengthening inspired Zeng Yi to weave a new framework for women's learning out of her family education and past experience. She positioned household healing at the center of this framework and thereby at the center of nation building. She further made visible this eighteenth and nineteenth century legacy, which highlighted medicine as a domestic practice with moral meanings, visible to a wider audience.

Zeng Yi's set of three books published in 1907, including the *Essays on Women's Learning*, *Essays on Medicine* (*Yixue pian* 醫學篇), and *A Guide to Food Preparation* (*Zhongkui lu* 中饋錄), provides a transitional case in which the meaning of women's experience of household healing changed in response to a new historical context challenging old ideas about women's roles in the society and the place of family and

[1] Zeng Yi, inscription, *Nüxue pian* (Changsha, 1907), 1.

home in the world. After the eighteenth century, women had articulated their understanding of women's virtue and domestic roles in relation to their health care practices within the family and household. In the early twentieth century, new global discourses on hygiene, biological motherhood, and household administration also highlighted women's role as health providers, but with a new set of assumptions about women's social roles and principles of domestic life. These new discourses emerged in Europe and then circulated and were recreated at varied locales around the globe through colonial and transnational encounters: biological motherhood connected women's physical health to the strength of the nation, and the domestic ideal of household administration positioned the individual family at the center of nation building.[2] Relocating women's place back within the domestic space, Zeng Yi framed women's daily health care for family members and medical learning as a way to bridge the women's virtue of the past with the imperatives of nation building in the present. Household healing was at the center of the interplay between the old and new in her version of "women's learning" (*nüxue* 女學), which differs from both the eighteenth-century ideal of "women's learning" (*fuxue* 婦學 or *nüxue* 女學) and the male intellectual discussion of "women's learning" (*nüxue* 女學) at the turn of the twentieth century.

Zeng Yi has attracted scholarly attention in the fields of women's history and medical history because of her stature both as a talented woman and as a rare female physician. In her study of two generations of talented women of the Zeng and Zuo families, Lin Meiyi writes about Zeng Yi as an exceptionally talented woman, whose medical knowledge distinguished her from other talented women in her family. Similarly, Yang Binbin has discussed Zeng Yi as a talented female poet, who abandoned poetry writing as a leisure activity appropriate for women and promoted medicine instead as

[2] For a study on popular texts on eugenics published in the late Qing, including advertisements and handbooks, see Zhang Zhongmin, "Chuban yu wenhua zhengzhi: Qing mo chuban de shengzhi yixue shuji ji qi duzhe," in *The Reformation of Concepts and Intellectual Systems in Modern East Asia* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2010), 83-106.

being more practical for a society in crisis at the turn of the twentieth century.[3] Two pioneering works have presented Zeng Yi as a rare female physician. Angela Leung locates Zeng Yi in a tradition of learned women healers from the late Ming to the late Qing, depicting her as a distinctive and extraordinarily successful doctor in terms of her ability to participate in the writing of orthodox medical texts.[4] Compared to the large number of anonymous and illiterate female practitioners after the late Ming, Leung points out that female doctors like Tan Yunxian 譚允賢 (1461–1554), who published a medical treatise based on her medical case histories, marked the occurrence of a new category of female healers in the Ming and that Zeng Yi was the other case in the late Qing.[5] In a more recent study, Yi-Li Wu also highlights Zeng Yi's *Essays on Medicine*, alongside the medical cases of Tan Yunxian (1461–1554) and Gu Dehua,[6] arguing that the publication of Zeng's book marked one of the rare occasions of the publication and preservation of a female-authored medical text.[7] These studies have contextualized Zeng Yi's work in the male-dominated tradition of medical learning that was based on textual study. As they

[3] Lin Meiyi, "A Survey of the Family Relationship of Two Generations of Talented Women of the Zuo Family in Yanghu," *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 30.3 (2007): 179-222; Yang Binbin, "Zeng Yi and 'Illness as Metaphor' in the Late Qing," *Journal of Graduate School of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences* 164.2 (2003): 113-118.

[4] According to Leung, the activities of female medical practitioners of various kinds, including midwives and women healers can be traced back to periods as early as the Han dynasty. Since the Song, there were debates centering on their evil influence due to Neo-Confucianism's attitude towards public women and the maturation of medical orthodoxy. Yet, in reality, they played a vital role in society, and some skilled woman healers even achieved certain fame and wealth, especially in the flourishing urban centers of the Jiangnan region during the Ming-Qing period. Angela Leung, "Women Practicing Medicine in Premodern China," in *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past: New Perspectives*, ed. Harriet Zurndorfer (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 101-134; Leung, "Dignity of the Nation, Gender Equality, or Charity for All? Options for the First Modern Chinese Women Doctors," in *The Dignity of Nations: Equality, Competition, and Honor in East Asian Nationalism*, eds. Sechin Y. S. Chien and John Fitzgerald (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 71-91.

[5] They grew out of the education mainly carried out by family members of the gentry lineage. Leung argues that their influence was also limited within their lineage. See Leung, "Women Practicing Medicine in Premodern China," 101-134.

[6] Both Tan and Gu were celebrated female physicians from medical lineages in Jiangsu, and both had authored medical case histories. Tan Yunxian wrote the *Sayings of a Female Doctor* (*Nüyi zayan* 女醫雜言). Gu Dehua wrote the *Medical Cases from the Pavilion of Flowery Rhymes* (*Huayun lou yi'an* 花韻樓醫案). Another extant female-authored case history is Sun Xitai's 孫西台 (1872–?) *Medical Cases from the Pavilion of Stars* (*Zhouxinglou Yi'an* 晝星樓醫案). Sun was from Guangdong, and her book was published in the early Republican period. For a discussion of Tan's work, see Furth, *A Flourishing Yin*, 1999: 285-298. For Sun's work, see Huang Zitian and Li He, "*Qingmo Minguo chuqi jieyang nü yijia Sun Xitai jiqi Zhouxinglou yi'an*," *Guangzhou zhongyiyao daxue xuebao* 1 (2013): 125-128.

[7] Yi-li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 19-22.

have shown, as a woman Zeng Yi was exceptional in producing medical knowledge in the format of established medical writing.

Rather than situating Zeng Yi solely as an exception in the lineage of male produced texts, however, I look at her writings in the context of changing attitudes towards women's medical learning and its relation to their roles in serving the home and state in what I have demonstrated was a long history of household healing. I ask the following questions. How, in Zeng Yi's case, did domestic practices inform the production and authority of medical knowledge? To what extent did the eighteenth-century debate about women's literary talent and women's virtue, fundamentally a question of women's proper place in society, remain relevant context for understanding Zeng Yi's view about woman's learning and the significance of women's health care to family members? And how did Zeng Yi reconcile her understanding of women's domestic duties with the global discourse of "hygiene" (*weisheng* 衛生) and "household administration" (*jiazheng* 家政) in her discussion of women's daily practice of health care? The following two sections start with an investigation of Zeng Yi's *Essays on Medicine* where I discuss Zeng Yi's engagement in the learned nineteenth-century medical discourse, most importantly the scholarly debates around Cold Damage disorders and Warm diseases and on adapting ancient formulas to treat contemporary illnesses. I further use household healing cases included in the *Essays* to explicate how Zeng Yi interpreted her domestic experience in light of learned medical theories and used domestic healing cases to elucidate textual medical knowledge. In the second section, I use her *Essays on Women's Learning* to analyze how she wove women's medical learning and health care for family members into her new framework of women's learning. I interpret her moral authority in the historical context of the eighteenth-century debate of women's talent and virtue. I also discuss her gendered use of "guarding life" (*weisheng* 衛生) meaning women's duty of regulating the daily activities of their families

as part of the new concept of "household administration" to connect her family traditions to the contemporary needs of national strengthening.[8]

Validating Medical Learning through Domestic Healing Experience

Zeng Yi grew up in a family with a strong tradition of maternal education as well as female virtue. Zeng Yi (1853–1927), her younger sister Zeng Yan 曾彦 (1857–1890), their mother Zuo Xijia 左錫嘉 (1831–1894), and Zuo Xijia's elder sister Zuo Xixuan 左錫璇 (1829–1895) were all well-known poets, painters, and calligraphers. In elite families, male family members were often away from home serving as officials. Female family members either followed their fathers or husbands from one place to another or they were left at home to manage household matters and, more importantly, take care of children and in-laws.[9] The family trajectory of Zuo Xijia and her husband Zeng Yong 曾咏 (1812–1862) was by no means exceptional. Zuo Xijia married Zeng Yong in 1851. Eight years later, she followed Zeng Yong to Jichang in Jiangxi province, where Zeng Yong was appointed district magistrate. After the Taiping Army occupied Jichang in 1861, Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811–1872), the leader of regional army in Hunan, selected Zeng Yong to assist in military affairs in Anhui province. Seven months later, he died of chronic illnesses while fighting the Taiping. Zuo Xijia brought his remains back to Jichang in September of 1862 and finally accompanied his remains, along with all of

[8] I translate "*weisheng*" as "guarding life" because Zeng Yi wrote about it as one aspect of domestic life, which she thought should be overseen by housewives. Ruth Rogaski has discussed the transition of the meanings of *weisheng*, from varied bodily skills for guarding life in the late imperial period to a new concern for public health under the modernity agenda during the Republican period. Sean Hsiang-lin Lei presents a detailed analysis on various counter discourses to the modern hygiene Rogaski discusses during the late Qing and early Republican period. See, Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity* and Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, "Moral Community of *Weisheng*: Contrasting Hygiene in Republican China," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal* 3 (2009): 475-504.

[9] Susan Mann has discussed the implication of this pattern on health conditions. Men were exposed to chronic (and infectious) illness as a result of their sojourning, and female family members, staying at home, were in better health. She argues that in their poetry elite women imagined themselves as located at "the still point that constituted home." See Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family*, 2007, 35-37, 182-84.

their small children, back to Huayang county in Sichuan in order to take care of her in-laws.[10] This was the first time, Zuo Xijia went to Sichuan, and at the time, Zeng Yi was only ten years old. Their life in Chengdu was difficult. As a widow with many dependents, Zuo Xijia had to sell paintings in order for her family to survive. Although many elite women sold their needlework and paintings to contribute to their family's livelihood, the situation was particularly urgent for Zuo Xijia's family.[11] As the eldest daughter, Zeng Yi helped her mother prepare painting materials and educated her younger sisters and brothers.[12] In 1922, on the occasion of Zeng Yi's seventieth birthday, her son Yuan Lizhun 袁勵准 (1876–1935) who published her book in 1907 and who was then serving at the court of the abdicated emperor in Beijing, invited family members and friends to contribute to an album of encomia and essays. The prefaces and inscriptions celebrated Zeng Yi as a virtuous mother who inherited the family tradition, as exemplified in the unexpected yet heroic death of Zeng Yong during the Taiping Rebellion, Zuo Xijia's courageous journey carrying her husband's remains back to Sichuan, and the virtue Zuo demonstrated in living through the difficulty of bringing up her children as a widow.[13]

Writing her books as a woman in her mid-fifties, Zeng Yi cherished this family tradition and domestic life. In her preface for the *Essays on Women's Learning*, she recalled, "When I was a little girl, I followed my mother's teachings. I was interested in the study of inscriptions on bronzes and stones, and literature, as well as the skills of painting, needlework, and food preparation. Later, I pursued the study of medical texts

[10] Zuo Xijia composed many poems on her way back to Sichuan and left a painting depicting the difficulty of the journey. The image of a courageous widow bringing the remains of her husband back to home was reinforced by more than thirty inscriptions for the painting. Yuan Lizhun ed., *A Collection of Tributes to Lady Zeng on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday* (*Gaofeng yipin furen Yuanmu Zeng taifuren qishi cishou shouyan lu*), manuscript, 1922.
[11] See Susan Mann's discussion of women selling hand-made products, in *Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
[12] Zuo Xixuan's husband died in a battle defending Shunchang in Fujian in 1858. This narrative account is based on Qu Huiyuan's study on the Zeng and Zuo family. Qu Huiyuan, "Zuo Xijia ji qi shigao yanjiu: yi shengping jingyu weizhu" (Ph.D. diss., National Chengchi University, 2007), 23-35.
[13] Chen Baochen et al., "Gaofeng yipin furen qishi shouxu," in Yuan Lizhun ed., *A Collection of Tributes to Lady Zeng on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday* (*Gaofeng yipin furen Yuanmu Zeng taifuren qishi cishou shouyan lu*), manuscript, 1922.

and the ways of a healthy life."[14] In her preface to *Essays on Medicine*, she wrote: "My father died early, and I served my mother in the countryside. My family held a rich collection of medical books, so I loved to read them in my spare time."[15] Zeng Yi considered herself as inheriting this whole package of learning from her education via her mother and her aunt Zuo Xixuan, and viewed her interest in medicine as being cultivated in the domestic sphere. In Zeng Yi's narratives, her life course has two stages: the first is the years she spent with her mother, sisters, and brothers in Sichuan; the second is her life after marriage, following her husband and travelling from one place to another for his official career.[16] She regarded her competence in self-diagnosis and treatment, years of experience in treating family members, persistent interest in collecting and evaluating recipes heard from others or read from medical books, all to be essential aspects of her domestic life. In *Essays on Medicine*, she utilized her textual learning to make sense of her domestic healing experience and also used her household healing cases to explain the use of medical theory and ancient formulas. She presented many stories that integrate textual study, recipe testing, and everyday observation.

As a learned woman, Zeng Yi wrote her *Essays on Medicine* following the tradition of literati physicians, highlighting theoretical analysis of illnesses. She divided the book into two volumes. The first volume contains theoretical essays, and is divided into four sections. The first section deals with basic diagnostic methods of taking the pulse and observing the tongue, and discusses the general principles of Warm diseases and Cold Damage disorders; the second and the third section discusses in detail the treatment of Warm diseases at different stages; the last section concludes the first volume by presenting treatment of Cold Damage disorders. The second volume has four sections, the collection on "miscellaneous symptoms" (*zazheng* 雜症), principles of women's

[14] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue Pian, juan* 1, 4.
[15] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Yixue Pian* (Changsha, 1907), *juan* 1, 2-3.
[16] Two years after their marriage in 1875, Zeng Yi followed Yuan Xuechang to join his family in Fujian. In 1880, Yuan Xuechang was appointed as county magistrate in Anhui, and the family moved to Anhui. Qu Huiyuan, "Zuo Xijia ji qi shigao yanjiu: yi shengping jingyu weizhu," 13-42, 127-139.

diseases, the right approach to children's diseases, and essentials for treating abscesses. Each section has a short introduction, stating the overall principles of the field. Within each section, recipes are placed under the discussion of each symptom.

Zeng Yi used the language of learned medical discourse to make sense of her household healing experience. For example, she wrote down how she found the actual cause and the right treatment for dry mouth. She recounted that she had exactly this "ailment" (*xiaoyang* 小恙) for more than ten years and once when she happened to have some almond soup before sleeping the problem disappeared. She first pointed to the widely held belief that the symptom of a dry mouth and tongue at night was rooted in deficiency of yin and the common treatment was to nourish the yin, which usually did not work in practice. Then she presented her own observation that the root cause of dry mouth is that "the lung *qi* is blocked, and cannot rise and fall." People who suffered from this problem, she continued, were usually suffering from a stuffy nose on one side, and they usually breathed through their mouths when sleeping, which caused the dryness. If they closed their mouth while sleeping, there would be no dryness. She asserted that the real problem is that "the lung *qi* is obstructed and blocked, and flows back up into the nasal passages." She further provided her own experience, noting that if she slept "on [her] left side, [she] can close her mouth, and the mouth would not dry… If [she] slept on the right side, the lung aperture would be blocked."[17] At the end, she explained that the almond soup worked exactly because "almonds make *qi* in the lungs rise and fall," a medical principle that can be replicated. Framing her own experience in terms of the blockage of lung *qi*, Zeng Yi actually argued against one of the most influential, yet widely criticized medical doctrines in Ming-Qing China, namely Zhu Zhenheng's 朱震亨 (1282–1358) idea that yin is always deficient and that one must nourish yin.[18]

[17] Zeng Yi, "Zazheng," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.1, 16-17.
[18] For discussion of Zhu's synthesis of twelfth- and thirteenth- century physicians' emphasis on treating depletion and the impact of Zhu's work, see Fabien Simonis, "*Mad Acts, Mad Speech, and Mad People in Late Imperial Chinese Law and Medicine*" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2010), 108-133, 137-139;

In her theoretical analysis, the most salient discourse she drew on is that on Warm diseases, one of the most debated scholarly medical issues of the day. From the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century, physicians from the Jiangnan area had challenged the authority of the Cold damage tradition built upon the work of the Han dynasty physician Zhang Zhongjing (ca. 150–219 CE), and recorded their local experience in their discussion of various kinds of Warm diseases. During the nineteenth century, scholar-physicians like Wu Jutong 吳鞠通 (1758–1863) synthesized these earlier doctrinal innovations. They remolded Warm diseases into a universal analytic approach, and raised the status of the study of Warm diseases to a tradition comparable to the classical Cold damage tradition. The discussion of Warm diseases thus became a current of medical learning that encompassed a diverse interpretation of the causes of epidemic diseases in terms of heat, dryness, dampness, and local pestilential *qi* as well as a means to negotiate between medical classics and current experience.[19] In her preface, Zeng Yi framed her work in this very debate around Warm diseases and Cold Damage disorders, and used the first volume of the book mainly to discuss Warm diseases. She highly praised the work of physicians from the "recent centuries" (*jinshi* 近世); she named Xu Lingtai 徐靈胎 (1693–1771), Ye Tianshi 葉天士 (1667–1746), Wu Jutong, Wang Shixiong 王世雄 (1808–1864), Fei Jinqing 費晋卿(1800–1879), all from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The debate centered on two issues: which term better described the diseases – Warm diseases or Cold Damage disorders – and how one should use ancient formulas to treat contemporary people. Like most of the advocates of Warm diseases at the time,

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For a study on the broader intellectual and cultural context of Zhu's work, see Charlotte Furth, "The Physician as Philosopher of the Way: Zhu Zhenheng (1282–1358)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66.2 (2006): 423-459.

[19] Marta Hanson examines how Warm diseases emerged as a local current of medical learning in seventeenth-century Jiangnan and evolved into a canonical and universal tradition in the nineteenth century, see Marta Hanson, *Speaking of Epidemics In Chinese Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2011), 15-19,107-150.

Zeng Yi criticized those "quacks," lit. "vulgar physicians" (*yongyi* 庸醫), who "inflexibly used ancient formulas to treat the illness of contemporaries" (*ni zhi gufang yi zhi jin ren zhi bing* 泥執古方以治今人之病). The "ancient formulas" here refer to the formulas for treating Cold Damage disorders. The problem of "ancient formulas," Zeng Yi asserted, is that they treat Cold Damage disorders through "warming and dispelling" (*wensan* □□), but "(most) Cold Damage disorders are in fact Warm diseases" (*shanghan shi xi wenbing* 傷寒實系溫病). She analyzed the following reason why the latter outnumbered the former:

> …wind, cold, summer heat, and dampness in all of the four seasons could be blocked within the human body for a long time,[20] and when being blocked for a long time (they) transformed into heat"… [thus] Warm diseases outnumbered Cold Damage disorders.[21]

She listed three incorrect treatments she witnessed during the years in which she followed her husband who served as an official in many provinces, namely to use drugs to "heat and dispel exteriorly" (*wenbiao* 溫表) without differentiating between Warm diseases, Cold Damage disorders, and Cold-wind disorders (*wenbing shanghan shangfeng* 溫病傷寒傷風), to "use drugs for relieving exterior disorders together with drugs for treating interior disorders" (*biao li bing yong* 表裡並用) when the cold and heat first occur, and to "add tonics into drugs for relieving exterior disorders" (*biao yao zhi zhong za yi bu yao* 表藥之中雜以補藥). Any of these three treatments, she warned, could cause the death of the ill patient.

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[20] For the dominance of the discourse on external wind as the cause of epidemics, see Shigehisa Kuriyama, "Epidemics, Weather and Contagion in Traditional Chinese Medicine," in *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies*, eds. Lawrence Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), 3-22.

[21] 四季之中風寒暑溼皆能鬱久在人身中鬱久而化為熱…溫病多於傷寒. Zeng Yi, "Wenbing shanghan shangfeng bian lun," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.1, 4

Zeng Yi especially promoted Wu Jutong's *Differentiation and Treatment of Warm Diseases* (*Wenbing tiaobian* 溫病條辨 pr. 1812). She praised his work as appropriate for the time: "(Wu's work) transformed ancient formulas to treat the illnesses of contemporaries" (*yunhua gufang yi zhi jin ren zhi bing* 運化古方以治今人之病) and is "really efficacious in treating the current illnesses of contemporary people" (*zui qie shiren zhi shibing* 最切時人之時病).[22] In addition to emphasizing recent medical authorities, her most convincing supporting case in her mind came from her experience treating herself. She emphasized that she had suffered from Warm diseases four times in her life thereby marshaling her personal experience as a means to strengthen her own authority.[23] After mistakenly using exteriorly expelling drugs, which resulted in life-threatening conditions, she read the *Differentiation and Treatment of Warm Diseases* and followed its approach to "nourish the yin and (use) sweet and cooling drugs" (*fang qi ziyin gan liang zhi zhi* 仿其滋陰甘涼治之). This turned out to be efficacious. She thus confirmed that Wu really "grasped the spirit" (*ao'zhi* 奧旨) of the ancient classics.[24]

Throughout her book, Zeng Yi highlighted the importance of the flexible use of formulas according to different bodily conditions, symptoms, and varied stages of one illness. In her theoretical discussion of how to treat Warm diseases, she highlighted the importance of using correct recipes during the initial symptoms, and detailed the use of different recipes according to three stages of the development of a Warm disease. The opening section in the first volume provides analysis and treatment of the initial stage, when the Warm disease only affects the lung channel (*feijing* 肺經). The following second and third section discusses situations in which the Warm disease has already

[22] Zeng Yi, "Wenbing shanghan shangfeng bian lun," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.1, 3; "Shanghan lunzhi," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.4, 1-4.
[23] Zeng Yi, "Xu," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1, 2-3.
[24] Zeng Yi, "Shanghan lunzhi," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.4, 1-4; "Wenbing chuanru xiajiao zhifa," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.3, 2-4; "Wenbing shanghan shangfeng bian lun," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.1, 3.

intruded into "middle burner" (*zhongjiao* 中焦) and "lower burner" (*xiajiao* 下焦).[25] One finds in these sections, several examples of this core flexibility. In her discussion of treating abscesses originating from "yang toxins" (*yangdu* 陽毒), for instance, Zeng Yi specified adapting formulas to different stages of the abscess development: when it first occurs, when the pus persists, and when it appears at critical locations on the surface of the body.[26] After a general discussion of "Warm toxin" (*wendu* 溫毒), a specific kind of causative factor of Warm diseases, she commented on the unique problems people with yin deficiency would have with this, and recorded how she once cured her sixth son by using additional herbs in combination with an existing recipe.[27] In discussing a formula for preventing miscarriages, she also identified her decoction with a locally popular recipe in Changzhou and pointed out that it would not be suitable for women in poor health.[28]

Zeng Yi not only took sides in the major epistemological debate in the learned medicine of her day, but also integrated her domestic experience of household healing in her medical writing. The domestic context of her medical experience was central in constructing her identity as a woman learned in medicine. The standard that Zeng Yi set for medical learning, as she saw it represented in Wu's work, was "to understand thoroughly" (*huoran guantong* 豁然貫通) and reach a fundamental understanding of the actual mechanism of medicine under discussion in ancient texts through "wholehearted observation and analysis in practice" (*qianxin ticha* 潛心体察). This "wholehearted observation," which in her own case Zeng Yi associated not only with thorough understanding of the "ancient method" recorded in classics such as the *Inner Canon* as

[25] Zeng Yi, *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.
[26] Zeng Yi, "Waike zuanyao," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.4, 6.
[27] Zeng Yi, *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1, 2-13.
[28] Zeng Yi, "Fuke zhufang," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.2, 4.

well as Zhang Zhongjing's work,[29] but also with her own experience accumulated in her daily observations, validated the correctness of the approach of Warm diseases against Cold Damage disorders in treating epidemic illnesses. Only "those who had read widely and acquired the ability to serve the world" (*yongshi zhicai* 用世之才), Zeng Yi claimed, can contribute to the field of medicine; "only the most talented ones devoted to perfecting skills of promoting longevity should discuss medicine." Zeng Yi modestly stated, that it was only in her mid-fifties, after she had gained a deeper understanding of medicine with decades of experience, that she felt confident enough to share her knowledge. She therefore decided to present useful sections from Wu's book in a simplified way in the hope that educated men and women could learn from it and no longer be misled by quacks.[30] Understanding the symptoms in the correct way and having access to the correct formulas when the symptoms first occur is vital, Zeng Yi claimed, especially for those who lived in "remote and backward places" (*qiong xiang pi rang* 窮鄉僻壤) and who thus did not have access to "learned literate doctors" (*mingli ruyi* 明理儒醫).[31] Thus, in her *Essays on Medicine*, she highlighted her concise summaries of theoretical issues from elite male-authored medical texts and, at the same time, shared material from healing cases accumulated in her own daily life.[32]

The short introductions to each section powerfully present her confidence in her personal observations based on many years of experience. She explains that she will not repeat what could be found in theoretical essays by doctors, material with which she was quite familiar, but which she saw as extraneous to her main project. She clearly states that her motive is not to provide complex theoretical arguments in conversation with the medical books she has read, but rather to present the final synthesis of her life-long study

[29] Zeng Yi, "Xu," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1, 2.
[30] For a study of Wu Jutong's writing and the emergence of "Warm diseases" in the nineteenth century, see Marta Hanson, *Speaking of Epidemics*, 126-150.
[31] Zeng Yi, "Wenbing shanghan shangfeng bian lun," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.1, 4.
[32] Zeng Yi, "Xu," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1, 1-3.

of medical texts integrated with her actual experience. Thus her discussion is usually quite concise, pointing out what she considered as the central issues. In the introduction to her section on gynecology, for example, Zeng Yi established a general explanation for women's illnesses. She argued that women's illnesses were similar to those of men, with the only exception being problems related to menstruation and childbirth. The main reason for women's health problems, in her view, is their cloistered life, which prevents them from relaxing in the open air, causes depression, and can worsen their physical symptoms. The main approach to their treatment accordingly is "nourishing the *qi* and comforting the Liver" (*yangqi shugan* 養氣疏肝)[33] to counter these health problems.

Zeng Yi also used her own experience from many household healing cases from her domestic life to support her judgment on textual knowledge. While these cases are not numerous throughout her book, these are the only healing cases she provided. So these medical notes from her daily observations are telling of the prominent position of domestic experience in her medical writing. For instance, after detailed analysis of Warm diseases using conventional medical terminologies, Zeng Yi described her own observations on the disease in a separate section: people who over-spent their brainpower and spend much of their time in a cloistered domestic space, and thus lack fresh air, are those who would be easily affected by Warm diseases, as their Blood and *qi* usually are blocked. If people can, on the contrary, prevent excessively spending their energy to save their brainpower, breathe fresh air, and do physical exercises, they will stay healthy.[34] By recommending "physical exercises" as a way to prevent illness, she also incorporated her observations on the newly available healing ideas from "western medicine" (*xiyi* 西醫)

[33] Zeng Yi, "Fuke zhufang," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.2, 1.
[34] Zeng Yi, *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1.1, 5. You Jianming has discussed changing views on women's physical exercise and healthy beauty during the period from the 1920s to 1940s. See You Jianming, "The Discourse on the Healthy Beauty of Women in the Republican Period," in *Jindai zhongguode funü yu shehui*, vol. 2, ed. You Jianmin (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2007), 141-172.

into her analysis of Warm diseases.[35] She claimed that western medicine was not as good as Chinese medicine in treating illnesses, yet western medicine was far more advanced in preventing illnesses. This is not the only instance where Zeng Yi presented her own observations which drew on new ideas vaguely conceived as coming from western medicine to explain diseases identified in conventional terminologies of medical texts in late imperial China.[36] At the end of her introduction to women's illnesses, she wrote in an experienced voice that physical exercises are helpful in reducing women's health problems.[37] These observations and advice, though simple, were delivered as dimensions of her synthesized knowledge of bodily conditions, which in her own words, she "understand thoroughly," through her "wholehearted observation and analysis."[38] For her, this experience was achieved through years' of everyday practice in treating herself, her family members, and other people she met.

Although Zeng Yi primarily relied on learned medical discourse, she still presented healing experience accumulated in her daily life as an important source for judging the efficacy of formulas. Her attention to record what had been proven effective was in accordance to the practical turn in contemporary medical culture as discussed in Chapter Two and Three. For example, she recorded a recipe she encountered when she was thirty-two years old, which effectively cured swelling throat (*houbi* 喉痹). The reliability of this recipe was validated by several instances in which she saved people

[35] The term "western medicine" was coined in the mid-nineteenth century. For its historical use, see Shapiro, "How Different are Chinese and Western Medicine: The Case of Nerves," in *Medicine across Cultures: History and Practice of Medicine in non-Western Cultures*, eds., Helaine Selin and Hugh Shapiro (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 351-372. For a study on the cultural and political significance of physical education in the early twentieth century, see Andrew Morris, *Marrow of the Nation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

[36] In the first decade of the twentieth century, newspaper articles started to introduce the chemical components of air and the relationship between fresh air and health, bringing "air" (*kongqi* 空氣) into scientific and medical analysis in China, and more importantly into public attention. For example, see Ye Peichu, "The Treatment of Tuberculosis by Using Fresh Air," 3-4. Also see Sean Hsiang-lin Lei's study on how medical experts blamed the lack of fresh air in domestic space for the transmission of tuberculosis in the 1930s. Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, "Xiguan cheng siwei: Xinshenghuo yundong yu feijiehe fangzhi zhongde lun li, jiating, yu shengti."

[37] Zeng Yi, "Fuke zhufang," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.2, 1.

[38] Zeng Yi, "Xu," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1, 1-3.

from dying of this extremely dangerous condition.[39] In discussing the symptom of vomiting blood, she provided both a complicated theoretical explanation of its origins and proper treatment and her original formulas, and recorded that she had saved several lives with these self-created formulas.[40] In another case, a person, who once served in the military in Henan province, for instance, told Zeng Yi about his experience of being cured from abdominal bloating by accidentally having some thick chicken soup on the street. Zeng Yi analyzed the possible mechanism behind this case: the soup nourished the deficient *qi* of spleen (*pi* 脾), which causes Blood insufficiency. She then recalled a similar recipe using sweet rice and chicken in classical formularies, and wrote this down as an exciting finding.[41]

In her discussion of two critical and fatal situations immediately following childbirth, namely the "Blood fainting" (*xueyun* 血暈), which resulted from Blood stagnation, and "*qi* desertion" (*qituo* 氣脫), which resulted from depletion, she told a case of saving her sister, Zhongyi 仲儀, who was frail and experienced *qi* desertion when giving birth to her third child. In this case, Zeng Yi's flexible use of formulas proved to be life saving. At that time, she, herself was only twenty years old when she was serving Zhongyi at her bedside. When the situation became dire, and the routine recipe, the "Generating and Transforming Decoction" (*shenghua tang* 生化湯), commonly used to treat Blood stagnation after childbirth, did not work, Zeng Yi looked into medical books, determined that what Zhongyi had was not Blood desertion but rather *qi* desertion, and bravely added ginseng soup into the standard prescription. Zhongyi was saved. Zeng Yi was not married then, and she did not tell other family members about her use of ginseng. She later regretted her oversight, because Zhongyi encountered the same problem when she gave birth to her sixth child, and since no one in the family knew the correct

[39] Zeng Yi, "Zazheng," *Yixue pian*, juan 2.1, 11.
[40] Zeng Yi, "Zazheng," *Yixue pian*, juan 2.1, 13-14.
[41] Zeng Yi, "Zazheng," *Yixue pian*, juan 2.1, 18-19.

treatment, Zhongyi died. Zeng Yi wrote this tragic story down to accompany her self-made formula for the treatment of *qi* desertion in the hope of correcting the prevalent and mistaken belief that ginseng should not be used in such cases.[42] She related the question of the proper use of the "Generating and Transforming Decoction" in this specific medical case to the theoretical issue of whether to prioritize the problem of Blood stagnation or *qi* depletion after childbirth, which was a question heatedly debated among male doctors at the time.[43] Zeng Yi used her bedside experience in her sister's case to demonstrate the correctness of targeting the problem of *qi* depletion, thus justifying the addition of ginseng into the standard formula.

Although Zeng Yi provides a rare example of a woman writing a medical book (in the theoretical/literati style), her medical learning and her use of domestic experience to validate her medical advice was by no means exceptional. As we have seen in Chapter Four, elite women during the Qing increasingly regarded overseeing the health condition of family members as an important arena to assert their moral power in the domestic space. Moreover, vernacular medical texts made domestic space a major site for the provision of health care and made healing practices more broadly accessible. During the Qing dynasty, especially in the eighteenth century, small commercial publishing centers flourished, and book publishers and sellers brought a wide range of popular texts, including medical handbooks, to all levels of society, ranging from large cities to remote villages, and into the hands of increasingly diverse readers.[44] As I discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, these texts promoted self-treatment following practice-oriented recipes readers could follow themselves. Amateur medical learners studied and edited easy-to-use medical texts, which provided increasingly rich resources for this circulation

[42] Zeng Yi, "Fuke zhufang,"*Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.2, 6-7.
[43] For a discussion of the debate, see Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 188-223.
[44] For the penetration of commercially printed texts into the countryside, see Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods*; For a case study of publishing medical books in seventeenth century Jianyang county, see Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-century Publishing Authors," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.1 (1996): 77-122.

of medical texts.[45] In her study of the eighteenth-century literature on medicine for women and medicine for children, Charlotte Furth points out that most medical texts were intended for both laypeople as well as physicians.[46] Yi-Li Wu has convincingly argued that the compilations of medical works by non-specialists marks an important trend in late imperial China medical culture. These compilers were strongly interested in studying medicine and had economic and social resources to publicize their own works or any works by others they found worth publishing.[47]

Similarly, Zeng Yi shared her emphasis on the reliability and practical use of her book with other amateur compilers of medical texts of the time. Amateur compilers emphasized the universal practical utility of the medical texts that they selected, and that people could treat themselves in the absence of a good doctor, for example in more remote areas. They showed strong doubt towards doctors and frequently promoted their works as a useful alternative for everyday use. As Zeng Yi did, they claimed that by relying on their publications, people could avoid being falsely treated by "vulgar physicians."[48] Thus recipe collections using the word "proven" (*yan* 驗) in their titles, started to gain popularity in the late seventeenth century, and became especially popular in the mid-nineteenth century, and continued to circulate widely during the Republican period.[49] As Yi-li Wu observes, literate amateurs set up new kinds of authority by highlighting their self-treatment experience and benevolence, and emphasizing their

[45] Current scholarship has used the term "literate amateurs" in discussing male literati interest in simplifying medical knowledge and publicizing effective healing techniques. Yi-Li Wu is the first to look into this issue in her study of medical texts and practice surrounding childbirth after the late Ming. Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*.

[46] Furth, "Concepts of Pregnancy, Childbirth and Infancy in Ch'ing Dynasty China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46.1 (1987): 9-11.

[47] The printing and distribution of the monks' secret gynecology (*fuke* 婦科) texts by male elites for religious and philanthropic reasons during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides a revealing example of how amateur compilers and publishers complicated the production and circulation of medical texts. As Wu shows, although many of the recipes were taken from older established medical books, the authority of the texts came not from their classical origin, but from a newly constructed myth of an ancient medical lineage. Yi-Li Wu, "The Bamboo Grove Monastery and Popular Gynecology in Qing China," *Late Imperial China* 21.1 (2000): 41-76.

[48] Literati amateurs used the word "vulgar physicians" (*yongyi* 庸醫) in denouncing male medical specialists.

[49] For a list of proven recipe books, see Xue Qinglu, *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu*, 243-302.

suspicion of doctors.[50] For amateur compilers, spotlighting "experience" (*jingyan* 經驗) seemed to be a useful strategy in promoting their recipe collections. Judging from the great number of books with the word "proven" (*yan* 驗) included in the titles, though as we have seen, what different compilers meant by the word "proven" varied to a great extent. Although the authorship of these proven recipes might be a mixture of medical specialists and "literate amateurs," the popularity of this kind of texts suggests an increasing interest in simplified medical knowledge and the effective and practical healing techniques of non-specialists.[51] It is in this historical context of literature amateur compilers that Zeng Yi confidently asserted the value of her practical experience providing care to family members in her published medical texts. Daily observations in household healing experiences not only became a meaningful source to validate theoretical analysis, but also contributed to how she gave authority to the practical usefulness and reliability of her medical advice.

Like many male amateur compilers, Zeng Yi promoted her book as useful for common people, rather than specialists. Her key to achieve this goal was to provide concise theoretical discussion as well as truly useful formulas. For each illness, she always provided the basic principles so that readers would be able to identify the symptoms, analyze the causes of the symptoms theoretically, understand the order of treatment, and then make the requisite formulas she provided.[52] For example, the section

[50] Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 54-83.

[51] See Yi-Li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 54-83. For study on literati interest in publishing medical text, see Hanson, "Merchants of Medicine: Huizhou Mercantile Consciousness, Morality, and Medical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century China," in *East Asian Science: Tradition and Beyond*, eds. K. Hashimoto, et al (Osaka: Kansai University Press, 1995), 207-214; Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-century Publishing Authors." For medical pluralism, see Kleinman, *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture*; Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*"; Lawrence Thompson, "Medicine and Religion in Late Ming China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18 (1990): 45-59. Yi-li Wu coins the word "decentralized medical world" in her paper on the production and circulation of genealogy texts. See Wu, "The Bamboo Grove Monastery and Popular Gynecology in Qing China."

[52] Her work garnered praise as well for this attention to organization. Duanfang 端方 (1861–1911), a prominent Manchu supporter of late Qing reforms, and who was then serving as the Governor-General in the Hubei and Hunan, contributed a preface to the *Essays on Medicine*, in which he celebrated Zeng Yi's work as following in the spirit of the Northern Song physician Chu Yushi's 初虞世 *Ancient and*

on treatment of abscesses starts with an introduction distinguishing "yin toxins" (*yindu* 陰毒) from "yang toxins" (*yangdu* 陽毒) for readers to classify various abscesses. She emphasized that this concise guideline was essential to avoid incorrect treatment at the first occurrence of the symptoms and that the recipes provided have proven to be effective.[53] At the end of the section, she briefly pointed to the Qing imperial project *Golden Mirror of the Medical Lineage* (*Yizong jinjian* 醫宗金鑒, 1742) and Wang Hongxu's 王洪緒 (1669–1749) book, *A Complete Life-Saving Manual on External Symptoms and Their Treatment* (*Waike zhizheng quansheng ji* 外科治症全生集, 1740), on abscesses for comprehensive treating methods, suggesting that exhaustive listing of treatment methods were beyond the goals of her book.[54] Specific formulas follow further discussion of symptoms, origins, development, and treatment at different stages. In another case, she recorded a recipe composed of mulberry juice and *gusuibu* 骨碎補 (Rhizoma drynariae, root of drynaria fortunei),[55] which she had used for over ten years to protect her teeth.[56] By recording this simple household remedy, Zeng Yi again provided what ordinary people needed in their everyday experience of household healing.

From the *Essays on Medicine*, we see that Zeng Yi was familiar with contemporary medical discourse. Yet, rather than positioning her medical learning as transgressive, intruding as a female into a textual tradition dominated by male medical writers, Zeng Yi confidently presented her medical knowledge as having been gained in her own domestic life rather than coming out of a specific current of learning. She used domestic healing cases – involving self-treatments, taking care of family members, and

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Contemporary Essential Recipes for Nourishing Life (*Gujin luyan yangsheng biyong fang* 古今錄驗養生必用方, first published between 1078–1085), in its excellent theoretical analysis and easy-to-use recipes. Duanfang, "*Yixue pian* xu," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 1, 1.

[53] Zeng Yi, "Waike zuanyao," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.4, 8.

[54] Zeng Yi, "Waike zuanyao," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.4, 1-2, 6, 9.

[55] This pharmaceutical name indicates that the roots were used of what is botanically named Drynaria forunei or just Drynaria.

[56] Zeng Yi, "Zazheng," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.1, 10.

everyday observations – to validate, interpret, and reproduce scholarly medicine. In other words, while Zeng Yi engaged with the male-dominated medical traditions, it was rather her female-based household healing practices that gave her contribution to literate medicine both legitimacy and authority. She shared concerns over practical utility with many literate amateurs who presumably also treated family members. Yet, unlike male medical authors, she used her domestic experience to support her discussion of theoretical issues and formulas, and sought to persuade others that her book was useful for ordinary households. She claimed that her book made medicine accessible to every "family in which people could read" (*dushu zhijia* 讀書之家).[57] Her status as a learned woman and moral model in her family imparted authority to her domestic experience and her medical writing. In the *Essays on Medicine,* Zeng Yi presents herself as compelled to share the knowledge that she had gained from her domestic life to serve the practical needs of current society. She does this legitimating of her contributions by grounding them in her domestic experience to an even greater extent in her *Essays on Women's Learning*.

Recreating "Women's Learning" (*Nüxue*) for Building a Strong Nation

In 1907, Zeng Yi's son Yuan Lizhun 袁勵準 (1876–1935) published the *Essays on Medicine* together with three other books: her *Essays on Women's Learning* and *A Guide to Food Preparation*, as well as her poetry collection, *Poetry Collection from the Guhuan Studio* (*Guhuan shi shiciji* 古歡室詩詞集). In their prefaces, Zeng Yi and friends of the Zeng and Yuan families described the former three books as an achievement representing her life-long practice of domestic virtue. They especially cherished the books as a record of what she had put into practice in her own domestic

[57] Zeng Yi, "Xu," *Yixue pian*, 2-3.

life. Even more importantly, they all thought that there was an urgent need for these books to be available to a wider audience. Zeng Yi presented the *Essays on Women's Learning*, in particular, as a comprehensive and practical guide for women to fulfill their domestic obligations both as administrators and healers. In the last chapter of the book, for instance, Zeng Yi advised, the "women as household managers" (*yijia zhi zhufu* 一家之主婦) should not only pay attention to everyday health issues related to "guarding life" (*weisheng* 衛生) but also learn medicine.[58] In her *Guide to Food Preparation*, she reaffirmed her intention to provide practical knowledge for the everyday life of all the women in the nation.

Zeng Yi legitimated her writing on medicine and health care as part of her framework of "women's learning" (*nüxue*), a term invoking both old and new meanings. In the eighteenth century, male literati, most notably Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801),[59] had articulated the term "*fuxue*" or "*nüxue*" in their discussion of the proper learning of women. While they suggested varied specific curricula, they promoted women's learning as fundamentally a way for women to pursue and demonstrate female virtue, which they commonly referred to as the "four virtues" (*side* 四德), namely "womanly virtue" (*fude* 婦德), "womanly words" (*fuyan* 婦言), "womanly bearing" (*furong* 婦容), and "womanly work" (*fugong* 婦功), following the framework Ban Zhao (45–120?) 班昭 first defined in her "Admonitions for Women" (*Nüjie* 女戒) in the first century C. E.[60] Precepts for women from the eighteenth century written by men, such as Lan Dingyuan's 藍鼎元 (1675–1733) *Women's Learning* (*Nüxue* 女學, pref. 1712) and

[58] Zeng Yi, *Nüxue pian*, 29
[59] Susan Mann, "'*Fuxue*' (Women's Learning) by Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801): China's First History of Women's Culture."
[60] Ban Zhao, "Nüjie," in "Lienü zhuan," *Hou Hanshu* by Fan Ye (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), *juan* 84, 2789.

written by women such as Li Wanfang's 李晚芳 (1692–1767) *A Collection of Words and Deeds for Women's Learning* (*Nüxue* yanxing zuan 女學言行纂, 1787), added specific advice on women's daily domestic practice into classical admonition texts. Yet they still subjugated their practical advice to moral teachings centered around the "four virtues", and thereby positioned women as instruments of moral instruction.[61] At the turn of the twentieth century, men reformers and intellectuals initiated a campaign for women's education, which they also referred to as "women's learning" (*nüxue* 女學) but with new meanings.[62] They criticized "talented women" (*cainü* 才女) as now representing a superfluous and weak cultural tradition that accounted for China's "backwardness," and argued instead for the importance of reforming women's education to prepare women for public occupations for the purpose of strengthening the state.[63] In *Essays on Women's Learning*, Zeng Yi engaged in both the discourse on women's learning—an issue that inspired much debate in the eighteenth century but acquired new meanings in Zeng Yi's day—and the newly emergent discussion of women's duties in the modern nation state.

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[61] Lan Dingyuan, *Nüxue*, pref. 1712. Repr. in Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian di sishi yi ji, ed. Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍 (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1977); Mao Wenfang, "Lan Dingyuan *Nüxue* yanjiu," (Ph.D. Diss. National Chengchi University, 2009); Li Wanfang, *Nüxue* yanxing zuan (Miyuan, 1787); Lee Lily Xiao Hong, *Zhongguo fun zhuanji cidian* 87-90.

[62] Men and women reformers held different views on what constituted "women's learning" or women's education. While men mainly considered women's education in terms of occupational education following the western education model, many women reformers, such as Xue Shaohui, presented a broader definition that encompassed scholarly and literary talent as well as artistic and scientific learning. See Qian Nanxiu, "'Borrowing Foreign Mirrors and Candles to Illuminate Chinese Civilization': Xue Shaohui's Moral Vision in the *Biographies of Foreign Women*," in *Beyond Tradition and Modernity: Gender, Genre, and Cosmopolitanism in Late Qing China*, eds., Grace S. Fong, Nanxiu Qian, Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2004), 67-71. For early twentieth century discussion on "*nüxue*" and women's position in nation, also see Joan Judge, "Reforming the Feminine: Female Literacy and the Legacy of 1898," in *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, eds. Rebecca Karl and Peter Zarrow (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 158-179; Tani Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: *Funü*, *Guojia*, *Jiating* (Chinese woman, Chinese state, Chinese family)," in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, eds. Tani Barlow and Angela Zito (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), 253-289; Hu Ying, "Introduction: The Emerging New Woman and her Significant Others," in *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899-1918*, ed. Hu Ying (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 1-20.

[63] The most influential work that informed this discussion is Liang Qichao's 梁啓超 (1873–1929) "On Women's Learning" (*Lun nüxue* 論女學), published in the reform periodical *The Chinese Progress* (*Shiwu bao* 時務報) in 1897, which explicitly connected women's learning to state strengthening. Liang Qichao, "On Women's Learning" (*Lun nüxue* 論女學), *Shiwu bao* 23 (1897): 1a.

She built her own framework of "women's learning" and advised reinvigorating it in each individual family for the purpose of building a strong nation.

Zeng Yi publicized her newly synthesized framework of women's learning with the authority of a female moral instructress. Her articulation of women's duties emphasized the necessity of women learning medicine and legitimated health-related knowledge as a part of broader women's domestic knowledge. The idea that women should take care of health issues in the family was not new. After the eighteenth century, many literate women wrote about their medical learning and household healing activities in essays, letters, and biographies. Explicitly or implicitly, their writings claimed a close connection between women's role as domestic healers and women's domestic virtue and their status. Yet, Zeng Yi was a transitional figure who was highly committed to publicizing elite women's medical learning and health care for family members as part of her family heritage, as a crucial part of women's domestic duties, and, even more importantly, as a tradition that was urgently needed for women to help cope with severe political and social crisis. She was a transitional case also in the sense that she produced a new version of women's learning that differed from what male and female writers in the eighteenth century had heatedly discussed and which she now used to respond to a new global context. Adopting notions of social Darwinism and eugenics, Zeng Yi appears to have for the first time placed the household healing knowledge that originated among women in the domestic sphere in relation to the contemporary discussions of both women's contribution to the nation and the place of the individual household in the nation.

In Zeng Yi's framework of woman's learning, medical care for pregnant women, infants, and the elderly occupy a prominent place. Four out of the nine chapters of *Essays on Women's Learning*, in fact, discussed health related issues. The first two chapters discussed how to choose a husband or wife, the proper age for marriage, and the relationship between husband and wife. The following four chapters introduced basics

and principles for women's health care during pregnancy, health care for babies, ways of nurturing and socializing babies, and ways of educating small children at home. The seventh chapter discussed taking care of family elders in terms of diet, living spaces, clothes as well as comforting them mentally. The eighth chapter talked about the economic aspect of women's household management. The last chapter concluded the book by placing women as the central figures in "guarding life" (*weisheng* 衛生) in the domestic space.

Zeng Yi's articulation of *weisheng* was indebted to earlier related discourses on regulating individual's daily life which had developed primarily in male literati's writings, yet at the same time also in conversation with new ideas of "hygiene," or what Ruth Rogaski has translated as "hygienic modernity," a concept closely connected to modernity and nation building. In the late Ming, male literati developed the idea of "guarding life" (*weisheng*) into a general concern about regulating daily life in a proper manner. Commercial publishers printed various handbooks and encyclopedias containing chapters on "guarding life," which had originated from Buddhist, Daoist, and medical texts, and referred to individual self-care.[64] During the late Qing and early Republican period, however, there were two different meanings for the word *weisheng*. The first one encompassed a range of traditional Chinese ideas about the regulation of daily life for personal health developed after the late Ming, which included a person's emotional and psychological self-regulation. The second meaning was a translation for the western concept of "hygiene," which now referred to state-dominated public health practices, discourses, and infrastructure based on modern scientific knowledge about microbes and epidemic diseases. This new concept of hygiene involved modern governance principles and signaled a new relationship between the state and its citizens. The late Qing and early Republican period witnessed the contestation of these two understandings, and before the

[64] For literati male's writing and practice of guarding life from the late Ming to the Qing, see Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*; Chen Hsiu-fen, *Yangsheng yu xiushen*.

1930s the former meaning prevailed in the popular media.[65] As Sean Hsiang-lin Lei's study shows, many Chinese intellectuals and translators defended the idea of personal health against public health, as their conception of "guarding life" was connected more to their identity in local communities rather than the nation state. Moral inclinations and social identity informed the choice between the two versions of *weisheng*.[66] Either consciously or unconsciously, a wide range of ideas and practices of "guarding life" from the late imperial period persisted in the early-twentieth-century discussion of *weisheng*. Zeng Yi was well aware of both of these two versions of *weisheng*.

In her chapter titled "Guarding Life," Zeng Yi articulated the ideas of *weisheng* as "guarding life" in a novel way in terms of women's duties of taking care of family members' personal health and the proper arrangement of their domestic living spaces. She presents *weisheng* as a major theme of household management, referring to sleeping patterns, diet, the arrangement of domestic spaces, proper clothes, and appropriate forms of entertainment. She stressed, "Daily activities and amusement all should follow proper ways, and (one) should know how to guard oneself (*shanyu ziwei* 善於自衛) in order to have a strong body."[67] She also differentiated *weisheng* in the domestic space from medical treatment. For example, in the section on treating women's problems during pregnancy in the *Essays on Women's Learning* she only drew lightly on medical analysis, referring to *qi* and Blood, yin and yang, and including some brief introductions to several useful recipes.[68] Most of the time, she discussed how women should pay enough attention to everyday activities and bodily conditions of family members in terms of *weisheng*. If the household manager/housewife can take care of these issues well then all the family members would have good health. More importantly, the wives would have sufficient

[65] Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, "Moral Community of *Weisheng*: Contrasting Hygiene in Republican China."
[66] Ibid.
[67] Zeng Yi, *Nüxue pian,* 29.
[68] Ibid., 8-11.

energy to assume their domestic duties, essentially taking care of the old, assisting husbands, and educating children.[69]

Her positioning women as household managers and moral instructresses as practicing *weisheng* for their families also carried a strong connotation of building a strong nation in order to save China from crisis at the turn of the twentieth century. She stated that "strengthening the state starts with strengthening the race, and strengthening the race all over the nation must begin with guarding life in each individual family (*jiating zhi weisheng* 家庭之衛生)."[70] Thus, for Zeng Yi, *weisheng* was neither a series of bodily skills for the cultivation of oneself according to the traditional meaning nor the new connotation of public health practices subsumed under "hygienic modernity." Rather, she used the term to signify women's domestic duties related to ensuring their family's health, the significance of which resided in the housewives' contribution to nation building. The way of guarding life she articulated was thus newly gendered as well as part of her new version of women's learning. She thereby positioned household healing at the center of nation building.

In Zeng Yi's review, her life after marriage allowed her to gain firsthand observations on the political and social crises, which inspired her to think about ways to strengthen society. She recalled in her preface, that she travelled widely in southwest China,[71] witnessing both political upheaval and the decline in social order. She was worried and enraged about the seizure of Chinese territories by foreign countries. For the sake of society, Zeng Yi believed that women should therefore understand their responsibility as household managers in the context of competition among nations.[72] She passionately expressed this sentiment by lamenting the loss of women's learning in contemporary society. Contemporary domestic life, in her view, had serious problems;

[69] Ibid., 39
[70] Ibid., 29.
[71] Zeng Yi mentioned that she "traveled across oceans" (*yue chongyang* 越重洋) in her preface. But it is not clear whether she had traveled abroad or not. Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue pian*, 4.
[72] Ibid., 4-5.

the most important of which was the abandoned tradition of women's learning. China surpassed other nations, she wrote, in that both elite women and women living in the countryside valued women's "fidelity and filial piety" (*jiexiao* 節孝).[73] Yet, today's women, she criticized, "lacked common sense" (*wuzhi wushi* 無知無識) due to their cloistered life.[74] She explains that women did not study in childhood and knew nothing about social communities or the new rules in the world. Those in rich families led luxurious yet dissipated lives; those in poor families led an ignorant life. Thus, they could not serve the family well and, by extension, help their society in difficult times. They did not know how to keep their children healthy and educate them.[75] From her perspective, those who advocated new ideas from western society were only learning superfluous things. They argued for freedom of marriage and for equality between men and women, led a western life-lifestyle, and talked pointlessly about political issues. Yet, Zeng Yi pointed out, "They were not aware of their daily duties, and needless to say, were not carrying them out in practice."[76]

Zeng Yi claimed that "women as household managers" (*yijia zhi zhufu* 一家之主婦) should learn and have the ability to learn how to fulfill their duties in everyday life. She built her claim for promoting women's learning on the basis of her belief that all women, not only elite women, have an equivalent "learning ability" (*zhishi* 智識) with that of men, and even that they can actually learn better than men because of their "purity" (*zhuanjing chunyi* 專靜純一). Finally, she expected, women will be able to

[73] Ibid., 5.
[74] Zeng Yi, "Nüxue zonglun," *Nüxue pian*, 1. This negative view of domestic space regarding health issues can be seen in her discussion of the root of women's illnesses and the importance of physical exercises and fresh air in both the *Essays on Medicine* and *Essays on Women's Learning*. See Zeng Yi, "Fuke zhufang," *Yixue pian*, *juan* 2.2, 1. *Nüxue pian*, 9. This view was different from what we see in the writings of the Zhang family in Changzhou in the nineteenth century, in which domestic space was usually depicted as a healthy environment for women and children living at home. Conversely, these same writings presented an image of the husband working in officialdom faraway from home, and thus susceptible to chronic diseases. Susan Mann, *Talented Women of the Zhang Family*.
[75] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu,"*Nüxue pian*, 5.
[76] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu,"*Nüxue pian*, 4.

compete with men on the same intellectual level, and have equal power in society. In this way, she thought, the "yellow race" (*huangzhong* 黃種) will become strong.[77] Thus, women were expected to learn as men did, but on different subject matters. Zeng Yi held the view that women had a natural inclination to manage domestic matters, unlike men, who were born to study politics.[78] She divided women's duties into three fields: women's responsibility in educating children was the basis of cultivating future citizens; women's diligent work was critical for "household management" (*jiazheng* 家政);[79] and women's medical learning was the guarantee of the strength of the "race" (*zhongzu* 種族).[80] For the purpose of fulfilling these duties, Zeng Yi further distinguished the women's learning that is "refined" (*jing* 精), namely principles of education and guarding life, from that which is "basic" (*qian* 淺), the skills of needlework and food preparation.[81]

In positioning women as household managers, Zeng Yi advocated a kind of home that could serve as the basis of the political order. She proposed this domestic ideal of housewives being managers of their homes to be appropriate and necessary to a very wide audience, constituted by all the women in the country. The centrality of home as the basis of the political order was, of course, ancient in Chinese political history.[82] Zeng Yi's imagination of the larger political role of the home and women in it signals a shift from the High Qing political discourse that targeted the rural household as the basic unit of political order. In the High Qing, statecraft writers and officials promoted a domestic ideal based on the gendered division of labor, highlighting the economic and moral value

[77] Zeng Yi, "Nüxue zonglun," *Nüxue pian*, 1-3.
[78] Zeng Yi, *Nüxue pian*, 1, 7.
[79] Zeng Yi cited Utako Shimoda's view on women's duty of taking care of family members, see *Nüxue Pian*, 29.
[80] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue pian*, 4.
[81] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue pian*, 5.
[82] This idea was articulated in the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* □□), which first appeared as a chapter of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) in the late Warring States and early Han period and has later been highlighted as a Confucian classic by the prominent scholar Zhu Xi (1130–1200) during the Song dynasty.

of women as producers, most importantly as weavers.[83] Different from this old ideal of "men till, women weave," Zeng Yi envisioned housewives managing their families in an orderly way to be the basis of a strong state. In her words, "the state was composed of families" (*guo zhe jia zhi ji* 國者家之積), "the families were constituted by individuals" (*jia zhe geren zhi ji* 家者個人之積), and so "a learned woman would not only benefit one family but the whole nation."[84]

She never explicitly differentiated between women of different social strata. She thought of women as consisting of half of the population who should take their naturally endowed responsibilities regardless of their social position.[85] Much of her advice, nonetheless, shows that her scope of women's domestic management duties was based within her own family experience and thus more suitable for other well-to-do families. She wrote that it was important to avoid leaving small children alone with servants, as the servants might conceal physical injuries.[86] She also explained about the importance of getting up early, as "housewives" (*zhufu* 主婦) should take care of their children themselves, and not totally depend on their servants.[87] She furthermore emphasized the importance of arranging gardens surrounding the house for walking, gathering with friends, and doing physical exercise.[88] Here, we see a tension brought on by her effort to reinvigorate her elite family learning to meet the current needs of educating "two hundred million women" from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.[89] Her flexibility, or possibly uneasiness, in identifying the book with family precepts, precepts for women, or textbooks for women's education was rooted exactly in her effort to frame her past experience into a new social context.[90] Yet, we see that she did find a bridge between the

[83] Mann, *Precious Records*, 143-177.
[84] Zeng Yi, "Nüxue zonglun," *Nüxue pian*, 1.
[85] Zeng Yi, "Zixu," *Nüxue pian*, 4.
[86] Zeng Yi, *Nüxue pian*, 27.
[87] Ibid., 31.
[88] Ibid., 33.
[89] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue pian*, 4.
[90] Ibid., 5.

past and present. The practical skills and experience in domestic life were both a cherished family tradition and what was needed to resolve the crises in contemporary society.

Zeng Yi's ideas about women's roles and duties have a global context in which biological motherhood and a scientific-oriented understanding of household administration became central to nation building. Joan Judge has demonstrated the intersection between ideas of woman, history, and nation at the turn of the twentieth century. Modernity discourse targeted women as national subjects, assigning them public roles like "the mother of citizens" (*guomin zhi mu* 國民之母). Women's virtue no longer represented the basis of family, society, and cosmological order.[91] The global context of social Darwinism and racial theory assigned a central place for motherhood in nation building. As Joan Judge points out, compared to the marginal place of motherhood in private writings in the late imperial period, the public media promoted a new motherhood that stressed mothers' physical strength as contributing to the national strength in the early twentieth century.[92] The idea of "the mother of citizens" first appeared in nineteenth-century Europe, making its way first into Japan in the 1870s and later into China at the end of the 1890s. It went hand in hand with the imagination of the West versus the East, as well as the negotiation between the past and present. Intellectuals who brought this ideal into China debated about its origin: some claimed its western origin; others sought to find its roots in Chinese classical texts. In some instances, it developed into a theoretical basis for women's physical education at schools, which of course located women outside of the family.[93] In other cases, such as in Zeng Yi's writing, we see an effort to incorporate it into a framework rich in the historical legacy of women's duties and skills in taking care of their children within the household.

[91] Using different sources, ranging from Education Board documents about female education, biographies of exemplary women, commercial textbooks to newspapers and journals, Joan Judge categorizes views about women into four types according to their understanding of the past concerning woman's talent and virtues. Joan Judge, *The Precious Raft of History* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2008), 1-29.
[92] Judge, *The Precious Raft of History*, 107-109.
[93] Ibid., 110-120.

Zeng Yi's positioning of women as household managers in charge of "household administration" (*jiazheng* 家政) was central in her new construction of women's learning, and represents the final product of her effort to make sense of the past for the present. Historians have identified the ideology of household administration as a product of the modernization process and colonial encounters of nineteenth-century Europe and its colonies.[94] In the disciplinary discourse of household administration, the home was imagined as a locale that should be ordered according to rules of efficiency, science, and hygiene, namely, a site where the new rational habits of citizens were to be cultivated. In the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, Japan served as the successful case and model from which the Chinese could learn. The female educator Shimoda Utako's 下田歌子 (1854–1936) book *The Science of Household Administration* (*Jiazheng xue* 家政學), originally written as a textbook to be used in women's schools and first translated into Chinese in 1902, was the most important work that popularized the idea of household administration among the Chinese elite.[95]

Zeng Yi picked up the phrase "household administration" (*jiazheng*) from Shimoda's work and used it in her *Essays on Women's Learning*, but her version of "*jiazheng*" is both related to and different from the Japanese model in some important aspects. As Wu Qingdi 吳慶坻 (1848–1924) commented in his preface on Zeng Yi's book, Japanese "home affairs" (*jiashi* 家事) education focused on two issues, domestic health care and economic management, and Zeng Yi got the "principles of education both

[94] For the ideal of domestic management in England and its colonies in the 19th century, see Karen Tranberg Hansen, *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Rosemary Marangoly George, *Burning Down the House* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998); Judith Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).

[95] Shimoda Utako established a school for women's education in Japan, where she was in close contact with several Chinese intellectuals and officials and had many students from China. For the development of home administration as an institutionally based discipline in China, see Helen M Schneider, *Keeping the Nation's House: Domestic Management and the Making of Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 1-19, 81-93. Shimoda's book was translated into Chinese by Shan Shili 單士厘, Tang Zhao 湯刨, and Zeng Jifen 曾紀芬 respectively in the year 1902 and 1903. Some Chinese translations are based on a revised version of the book. See Huang Xiangjin, "Cong miaotang zhigao dao jianghu zhiyuan: Xiatian Gezi jiazhengxue zai Zhongguo," 88-92.

within and outside China."[96] The stress on domestic health care in the Japanese model of household administration did open a window through which Zeng Yi saw the connections between her past experience of medical learning, household healing, and the Chinese concept of guarding life and the present idea of household management.[97] In her introduction to chapter nine, under the title "Guarding Life," she praised Shimoda's emphasis on women's leading role in domestic health care.[98] Yet, she presented "*jiazheng*" as part of her new framework of women's learning, rather than institutionally based women's education. Neither did she link it to modernization or ways of managing domestic life according to principles of science and efficiency. Zeng Yi emphasized instead her experience gained in her own domestic practices, which carried as well the moral power of womanly virtue.[99] For her, the issue was to restore the lost tradition of women's learning, rather than introducing a new scientific discipline. She considered women as housewives within the domestic space, not as professionals in household administration. Unlike the Japanese institutional ideal of home administration, which targeted only middle-class women, Zeng Yi talked about "*jiazheng*" as a series of domestic duties of all the women from all classes in society. She envisioned the benefit of household management as ensuring national strength, but this was to be achieved through each individual woman fulfilling her duties at home.

Her framework of women's learning positioned women as learned moral instructresses and housewives in their families, a womanhood ideal emerged out of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates on the proper place of women in elite families. Also, as I discussed in the case of Liu Jian in Chapter Four, practical knowledge

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[96] Wu Qingdi, "Xu," *Nüxue pian*.

[97] In the 1902 translation of the revised version of Shimoda's book, titled *A New Compilation of the Science of Household Administration* (*Xin zhuan jiazheng xue* 新撰家政學), chapter four, "Taking care of the ill (*kanbing* 看病)," discusses exclusively how women should oversee health care affairs in their homes. It gives advice on identifying illnesses, selecting doctors, arranging rooms for the patient, and care for the patient. Shimoda Utako, *Xin zhuan jiazheng xue*, trans. Tang Zhao (Shanghai guangzhi shuju, 1902), 30-36.

[98] Zeng Yi, *Nüxue pian*, 29.

[99] In the 1920s and 1930s, intellectuals and official debated on the specific design of courses for home economics education. In many of the textbooks, they explained principles and significance of everyday practices, like washing clothes, needlework in terms of rules of efficiency, mathematics, economics, physiology, and chemistry. See Schneider, *Keeping the Nation's House*, 96-102.

and skills of managing everyday life in the household became increasingly important for elite women to assert their domestic roles in the nineteenth century. In fact, Zeng Yi's *Essays on Women's Learning* never used the term "household administration" (*jiazheng*) in its titles or subtitles. Her book actually covered a wider range of topics than did Shimoda's book, and on those common topics Zeng Yi's discussion is much richer in detail. For example, Zeng Yi devoted one chapter to discuss health care during pregnancy and after childbirth, and she also wrote one chapter on "household economics" (*jiating jingjixue* 家庭經濟學), both of which were absent in Shimoda's book. It is arguable that to build her framework of women's learning, Zeng Yi drew more on indigenous resources.[100] It is in the moral power of female instructress who managed household affairs that Zeng Yi found her voice in publicizing her experience of domestic practices. In her preface for *Essays on Women's Learning*, she valued her maternal education, emphasizing that her mother and her aunt were both learned in the "classics and history" (*jing shi* 經史). Moreover, she drew on the "*Xiao Rong*" (小戎) and "*Wu Yi*" (無衣), two poems of the "Songs of the States" (*guofeng* 國風) in the *Book of Odes* that represented the moral power of women for the prosperity of the state.[101] In her introduction to *A Guide to Food Preparation*, she recalled the poem of "*Cai Ping*" (采萍) in the "Songs of the State," which depicted a girl gathering and cooking wild plants for ancestral sacrifice.[102] The "Songs of the States" were exactly where scholars such as Zhang Xuecheng and also Zeng Yi herself found classical models of the moral instructress.[103]

Zeng Yi's moral power unquestionably gained recognition from the small circle of family friends who celebrated her as a model mother representing a long tradition of

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[100] For discussion on men and women's writings and practice of "administering livelihood" (*zhisheng* 治生) from the late Ming to Qing, See Zhou Xuqi, "*Ming mo Qing chu jiazheng guan de fazhan yu xingbie shijian*" (Ph.D. diss., National Taiwan University, 2008).
[101] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue pian*, 4-5.
[102] Zeng Yi, *Zhongkui lu*, 1.
[103] Susan Mann, *Precious Records*, 85.

virtuous women going back to the models in the *Book of Odes*. The Manchu official Duanfang, as a close friend of Zeng Yi's husband Yuan Lizhun, praised her books as an extraordinary collection of family precepts, valuable to a contemporary society in which many learned people were confused by outward pursuits and ignored the proper way of family life. In his view, "educating in words could never be as effective as the influence of daily conduct" (*yanchuan buru shenjiao* 言傳不如身教) within the family. He emphasized that Zeng Yi was successful exactly in this respect within her family.[104] Zhang Baixi 張百熙 (1847–1907), who initialized the reform of education system in the late Qing, founder of the Imperial Capital University,[105] and who knew Zeng's husband well in Beijing, recognized Zeng Yi's role in educating her son and promoted her books as the result of what she had put into practice over decades.[106] Their prefaces both assert Zeng Yi's authority on domestic matters as a moral instructress.

However, the specifics of Zeng Yi's repackaging of women's learning differed from the classical women's learning discussed by eighteenth-century scholars. Proponents of classical women's learning in the eighteenth century were primarily concerned with preparing women to fulfill their ritual duties in the family through classical learning.[107] Zeng Yi's version was less about classical literature learning than about the learning of everyday practical skills for the fulfillment of women's duties within the domestic sphere. She claimed that what she had written down were those she "had actually practiced" (*shenti lixing* 身體力行) following her mother and aunt's teachings.[108] For Zeng Yi, her books were valuable precisely because they were written in plain words and contained useful and detailed practical advice. This point was well

[104] Duanfang, "Xu," *Nüxue pian*, 1.
[105] Zhang also led the compilation of Qing court's first regulation on modern Chinese education system, *Presented School Regulation* (*Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 奏定學堂章程), which was publicized and put into practice in 1904.
[106] Zhang Baixi was appointed Zhang Baixi, "Xu," *Nüxue pian*, 2-3.
[107] Mann, *Precious Records*, 83-86, 90.
[108] Zeng Yi, "Zi xu," *Nüxue pian*, 5.

represented by her attaching *A Guide to Food Preparation* (*Zhongkui lu* 中饋錄) to her *Essays on Women's Learning*, which introduced skills of food preservation and preparation that women in ordinary households could follow. She compiled the book around the same time as the other two books, recording twenty short instructions for making basic preserved food and fermented sauces. Making food at home, Zeng Yi believed, was "a way of promoting thriftiness and guarding life."[109] Like her advice on guarding life and educating children in *Essays on Women's Learning*, skills of making homemade food were also a part of daily domestic practices in the home. Unlike the moral instructress who served as a transmitter of the Dao that Susan Mann found in the eighteenth-century ideal of "women's learning" (*fuxue* 婦學), Zeng Yi's revised "women's learning" (*nüxue*) presented a version of women's family learning handed down through maternal education, cultivated in domestic daily practices, focused on daily practices, and positioned within women as household managers. Her version of women's learning had new connotations as well as content, now including the preparation of nutritious food, knowledge of classical and popular medical texts, arrangement of daily activities for elders and children, household management, and child care.

Conclusion

At the turn of the twentieth century, Zeng Yi made women's medical learning and household healing, which had been practiced by many elite women in late imperial China, not only visible to a broader imagined audience of women but also relevant to nation building. Her publications reveal how female members of elite families were at the same time active healers, recorders of their healing activities, and medical writers who redefined meanings of their domestic practices in the changing historical context of gender relations and the imagination of the place of home in the world at the turn of the twentieth century. She introduced her medical learning as cultivated in a domestic setting

[109] Zeng Yi, *Zhongkui lu*, 1.

in which health care shaped the emotional bonds between family members and familial memories. She placed medical learning and household healing within a newly expanded framework of women's learning, which she claimed suitable and necessary for all women in order to save the society in social crisis and build a strong nation.

Zeng Yi is one of a few illuminating cases that show how elite women participated in the production of text-based medical knowledge during the Qing dynasty. She engaged in the most discussed issue of scholarly medicine of her day, namely the debate on Cold Damage disorders and Warm diseases, and was quite familiar with the eighteenth- and nineteenth- century ideas about Warm diseases. She used learned medical discourse to make sense of her domestic experience, and conversely also used examples of household healing to consolidate textual learning. Based on her own experience, she established the correctness of analyzing symptoms in terms of Warm diseases more than Cold Damage disorders. Her status as a learned, accomplished woman imparted authority to her household healing experience. She drew on her household healing cases to elucidate her understanding of medical doctrines and the correct way to use formulas. She thus presented her synthesis of doctrines and healing cases to be useful for self-treatment in common households. Her emphasis on the practical usefulness of her medical book was in accordance as well with her view of the need for women to fulfill concrete daily duties within their families. She newly gendered the Chinese concept of "guarding life" in the domestic space as meaning taking care of children and elders as well as applying medical learning in the context of women's domestic duties.

In promoting women's learning, Zeng Yi also strategically located herself—and the household—in historical time rather than in the contemporary political spectrum from conservative to reformer. She presented her traditional family education as relevant for addressing contemporary problems, specifically how women should contribute to their nation in a concrete way. Zeng Yi discussed women as the mothers of future citizens, who should assume their responsibilities in the construction of a strong nation. Medical

knowledge was of practical use: women should take care of their children, who were now newly envisioned as future citizens, and thus critical to the prosperity of the nation. She positioned women as household managers responsible for "guarding life" within each individual family, which consisted now of also regulating bodily conditions and arranging living spaces properly in everyday life. She publicized her new version of women's learning with the authority of a moral instructress, which was a legacy of the eighteenth-century classical revival. Yet her framework was new in its claim for the importance of everyday practical skills and not just literary talent. Exposed to the global modernity discourse of hygiene, biological motherhood, and household administration, she reconstructed the meaning of female virtue and women's learning by finding a new place for the practical skills of health care in her new framework of women's learning. Her "*nüxue*" or "women's learning" thereby reserved a place for household healing in building a strong nation.

Conclusion

In a time when women's public roles in the society increasingly attracted scholarly, official, and media attention, Zeng Yi carefully examined her family legacy in order to develop guidelines for domestic life in a changing world. To make sense of the past in the present, she reflected on the meanings of healing acts in relation to talent and virtue. She did not position herself as a female doctor or as a talented woman who learned medicine as a literary pastime as some scholars have done.[1] She discussed medicine as a form of practical knowledge, which was indispensable for women as they served their households and, in turn, contributed to the nation. In her suggestions for solving contemporary social and political crises, she reminded her readers of a legacy of domestic authority that had been cherished by generations of literary women like herself, a legacy that was already there in their writings and everyday practice, but which had not been broadly publicized.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women of elite families provided health care as wives, mothers, sisters, aunts, and daughters-in-law. They performed and articulated their moral power as capable wives and household instructresses in their daily lives. In letters, biographies, and essays, they wrote about health care to articulate their understanding of talent and virtue. They presented themselves as health care providers within the household and used detailed accounts of their words and deeds to demonstrate their wifely virtue, filial piety, and maternal care. They celebrated their medical knowledge and practices as a family tradition of female virtue that should be remembered by and transmitted through generations of female family members. Elite women such as Chen Ershi, Liu Jian, and Zeng Yi were well equipped with knowledge of learned medicine, which historians have primarily regarded as the domain of male doctors and

[1] For scholarly depictions of Zeng Yi as a female doctor or a talented women learned in medicine, see Lin Meiyi, "A Survey of the Family Relationship of Two Generations of Talented Women of the Zuo Family in Yanghu"; Yang Binbin, "Zeng Yi and 'Illness as Metaphor' in the Late Qing"; Angela Leung, "Women Practicing Medicine in Premodern China"; Yi-li Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 19-22.

amateur medical learners. While women learning medicine as a literary pastime could potentially arouse controversy, they rendered daily health care practice into a strong expression of women's virtue. They increasingly emphasized health care as one aspect of their practical household management skills, and interwove medical knowledge and skills into a framework of practical knowledge for the maintenance of domestic order. In her books, Zeng Yi took this view of household healing and made it relevant in a changing world. And, as was the case throughout period from late Ming to late Qing, her vision of household healing gained a wider audience as her writings circulated in print.

Practical medical knowledge for home use circulated in print and manuscripts and informed domestic-centered healing practices. Commercial publishing during this period enabled wide circulation of all kinds of everyday knowledge, including abundant materials related to the body and illness. Most notably, recipes with specific instructions on the technical details of making medicines appear with increased frequency in recipe collections, encyclopedias, fiction, almanacs, and meritorious books starting from the late Ming on. Some recipes presented making medicine at home as a way of cultivating life; some depicted making medicine as a process that requires sincerity and piety; some asked their readers to handle various utensils and substances in particular ways in order to guarantee the quality of the medicine; yet others instructed people to use simple household ingredients to treat mild ailments. In addition, ritual healing was also part of this vernacular knowledge for household use. Encyclopedias, almanacs, and fiction equipped common people with relevant knowledge about demonic threats to their domestic space and presented illness as a major consequence of such threats. They instructed their readers to find the root of their physical symptoms in the domestic space and use rituals to ward off demons and restore order in the home.

The elite women's writings, practice-oriented recipes, and treatises on illness-causing demons discussed in this dissertation present fluid and varied definitions of home, and thus different meanings and imagination of illness. They also suggest the different

sets of skills and priorities necessary to effect a cure. Did these varied texts present a gendered division of labor at home? On the one hand, women used their engagement with healing in support of their performance of household roles and as testament to their specifically feminine virtue—which were inevitably gendered. On the other hand, men wrote all of the published recipe books and manuscripts cited in this dissertation. Also, some recipes present an imagined community in which the circulation of knowledge excluded the participation of women–along with chickens and dogs, persons in mourning, and the indecorous, presumably to prevent contamination of the drug making process.[2] Similar warnings could be found in recipes in manuscripts as well as published recipe books from the nineteenth century, such as the *New Compilation of Proven Recipes*. In spite of these gendered representations, household healing was not intrinsically "women's practice"—nor was it particularly "gendered" in all aspects. Medical knowledge was available to both genders because it circulated in vernacular texts and in genres that men and women both read and in relation to beliefs and practices they also shared. Previous chapters have demonstrated that male literati actively engaged in making medicine in their homes and distributed recipes for others to use at home. Even though I have not identified any female-authored medical recipe books from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, this does not mean women were absent as collectors and writers in this world of domestic healing techniques. The late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century woman, Chen Ershi, provides evidence that she made pills by herself; Zhao Jinyun also transcribed part of the recipe collection, the *Survey*; some works of fiction depict women as the actual makers of medicine in their homes as well.[3]

One couple even wrote jointly in the early nineteenth century about making medicines together in their own home at a time when the husband was terminally ill. In 1815, the newly married couple Ji Lanyun 季蘭韻 (1793–ca.1848) and her husband Qu

[2] Ibid., 199.
[3] For an example, a medical amateur named Lu Yitian recorded in his medical texts that his aunt once consulted fiction for a recipe and made the medicine by herself to cure her neighbors. See Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China*, 3.

Songman 屈頌滿 (1792–1816) wrote a suite of poems together describing their family life in Changshu County, Jiangsu. The poems detail shared activities including cleaning and organizing their book collections, practicing calligraphy, playing the thirteen-string zither, discussing poetry, washing their inkstones in a pond, drinking tea in their courtyard, picking and arranging flowers in their garden as well as making medicine.[4] At the time, Qu Songman was seriously ill; he died early in the following year.[5] The poems highlighted the process of making medicine as part of their literati way of life. In "Making Medicine" (*zhiyao* 製藥) they described how they followed recipes to make medicines: measuring the weight of drugs, sorting the drugs, pounding the ingredients, and refining the elixirs:

> The secret recipes are hard to find even in the Dragon Palace, one would not refine the medicines by oneself if one only had mild illness. One must be careful when taking the substances up and down in the process of weighing, and must pay attention to the relationship between the sovereign and minister drugs. It was highly desirable to grind the drugs by the light of the moon on a clear night, and [I] had remembered to bring all the ingredients into [the house] when the mountain quieted down and the frost descended. The servant heard the sound of the boiling crucible, but mistakenly thought that was the sound of the boiling teapot.[6]

Here, the couple follow the "secret recipe" (*fangmi* 方秘)[7] to "refine" (*xiu* 修) elixirs in hopes of finding a cure for the husband's illness. The words "secret recipe," "Dragon Palace" (*longgong* 龍宮), "clear night" (*qingye* 清夜), "empty (quiet) mountain"

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[4] Ji Lanyun, *Chuwan ge ji* (1847), *juan* 2, 6-7. Online source: Ming Qing women's writing, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/page-turner-3/pageturner.php
[5] Yao Fuzeng, "Ba," in Ji Lanyun, *Chuwan ge ji*, *juan* 12, 1.
[6] 方秘龍宮不可求,何因小病手親修,分來上下心須細,配合君臣意要留,清夜正宜和月搗,空山曾記帶霜收,鴉鬟誤聽丹爐沸,認是茶鐺響未休.
[7] In Chinese, word order could be reversed in order to conform to the rhyme pattern, with the word's original meaning unchanged. Here, "*fangmi*" (方秘) means "*mifang*" (秘方) or "secret recipe."

(*kongshan* 空山), and "crucible" (*danlu* 丹爐) convey a mysterious atmosphere and a sense of piety, which were characteristic of alchemy practice. But as the words "sovereign and minister drugs" indicate,[8] they are making medicinal pills rather than refining mineral substances for pursuing longevity. As discussed in previous chapters, in the early nineteenth century, practice-oriented recipes containing the words "secret recipe" in their titles were widely available via recipe collections, encyclopedias, and other vernacular texts. Many of these recipes rendered specialized alchemy knowledge into clear instructions for a broader audience. They often retained a mysterious aura to enhance the recipe's validity and encourage circulation by mythicizing the origin of the recipes and calling for the person's own sincerity, piety, and purity in the medicine-making process. Ji and Qu drew on exactly these types of sources to make medicines on their own, and presented their practice of making medicine as one of their many daily activities at home. They expressed their love by accentuating the sincerity in their practice of making the medicine that could extend his life, and thus their time together.

The circulation of vernacular medical texts enabled not only the most learned people but also those with less education to be active healers in their households. In 1906, an at-home Buddhist priest named Kong Qing 孔清 (ca. early 20th cent.) from Changzhou, Jiangsu collected donations from a group of 55 men and women to have *The Precious Scroll Sent down from Heaven to Save People from Calamity* (*Tianjiang jie du baojuan* 天降劫度寶卷) printed by several meritorious book publishing houses (*shanshu zhuang* 善書莊) in the city.[9] The precious scroll is a small booklet composed in plain language and intended to be distributed to as many people as possible. The text instructs people to

[8] The "sovereign and minister drugs" alludes to the way of differentiating how drugs in a formula have different functions but work together in the literate medical tradition. See Marta Hanson, "Editorial," special issue *Asian Medicine Tradition and Modernity: Transformations of the Treatise on Cold Damage in East Asia,* 8.2 (2013), 243-247.

[9] Private publishing houses in Changzhou printed an abundance of similar precious scrolls between the 1860s and 1900s. These texts were widely circulated in Zhejiang and Jiangsu. Che Xilun, "Qing mo Minguo jian Changzhou diqu kanyin de baojuan," *Minsu yanjiu* 4 (2011): 128-140.

keep the booklet at home and read it out loud every day. It advises readers to "correct misdeeds and follow the good" (*gai e cong shan* 改惡從善). At the end, it lists six talismans for people to transcribe in red ink for attachment to the shrines in their homes as well as a "divine recipe" (*xianfang* 仙方) that could cure "all kinds of epidemics and acute illnesses" (*yiqie wenyi zhu ban jizheng* 一切瘟疫諸般急症). The recipe is composed of a drug list and an instruction saying:

> Grind all the ingredients into fine powders and store [the powders] in an airtight porcelain bottle. Whenever someone has illness, blow one to two *fen* [of the powders] into one's nose and then take one *qian* [of the powders] together with ginger soup. One will recover in a few days. It will be effective if taken by good people (*shanren* 善人). It will not be efficacious if taken by evil people (*e'ren* 惡人).[10]

The "Essay for Saving People from the Calamity" (*jiu jie wen* 救劫文) preceding the talisman and recipe, introduced as the words of the Goddess of Mercy (Guanyin dashi 觀音大士) as spoken through the mouth of a twelve-year old girl, instructed readers to use the recipe properly in simple three-character and four-character verses: "Take the recipe, collect and mix all the ingredients, offer [the medicine] as tribute in front of the [image or statue of] deity, use porcelain containers, or jade bottles, store [it] in a clean condition."[11] The essay listed distributing medicines among other "good works," including showing respect to deities, accumulating virtues, distributing meritorious books, sending out clothes, prohibiting killing living things, building boats, bridges, and roads, and protecting paper bearing written words.[12] Women were apparently faithful and

[10] *Tianjiang jie du baojuan* (1906), 46-47.
[11] 將藥方,齊配好,上獻神前,用瓷器,或玉瓶,潔淨裝存.
[12] *Tianjiang jie du baojuan*, 36-37, 43.

enthusiastic distributors of these moral lessons.[13] For them, making medicines and acts of healing were not just about medicine, but also a demonstration of their faith to the deity, a testament to their personal morality, and an essential part of their calculation of reward and retribution.

Other precious scrolls for household use, such as *The Precious Scroll Containing Plain Words from Zhongxi* (*Zhongxi cuyan baojuan* 眾喜粗言寶卷) which was first published in 1850 and then reprinted through the latter half of the nineteenth century in the same area, incorporated many practice-oriented recipes as well. Chen Zhongxi 陳眾喜 (1821–1850), the leader of the "External Life sect" (*changsheng jiao* 長生教) in Jiangxi and the compiler of this precious scroll devoted the upper register of his fourth volume exclusively to medical recipes. Most of these recipes were practice-oriented ones, containing either meticulous descriptions of how to effect a cure or direct and simple instructions on how to use common household items for healing purposes. Stories and moral teachings that encourage people to follow moral norms and to do "good works" appeared occasionally in between. When a person kept a precious scroll like this at home, reading the moral and religious texts in the lower register on a daily basis, he or she would also routinely encounter the practical information in the upper register. Such multi-layered texts were an important vehicle for the circulation of medical recipes in the nineteenth century.

Meritorious books and precious scrolls such as these as well as the many other kinds of vernacular texts discussed in previous chapters informed heterogeneous household healing practices that transcended the boundary of medicine. Healing at home involved knowing and combating demons with simple rituals, collecting drugs at a specific time, handling various utensils and substances in a specific way, using household food and items as medicines, and various other kinds of domestic practices and

[13] Eighteen of them can clearly be identified as women. For a list of donors, see *Tianjiang jie du baojuan*, 48-49.

techniques. Healing could be an expression of women's virtue, a way of cultivating life, a medium for literati sociability, and a way of accumulating merit. To heal at home, one did not stick only to learned medical treatises, but rather dove into a sea of vernacular texts, including especially fiction, encyclopedias, almanacs, recipe collections, precious scrolls, and meritorious books. By making medical knowledge more accessible, and especially by making medicine something that could be made easily at home, practice-oriented recipes in this context appeared as collectable artifacts bearing practical, entertaining, and moral value. People acquired practical guidance from these recipes and further distributed them in print as another means to accumulate merit or through personal networks thus strengthening familial and extra-familial bonds. The belief in merit accumulation motivated people from all social strata to facilitate the circulation of texts bearing healing techniques. Recipes thus served as an epistemic genre allowing for new recording of practice-oriented medical knowledge as well as greater access to such knowledge for commoners. These recipes along with vernacular ritual treatises, rendered home into a major site of healing techniques and practices for the expression and representation of religious faith and moral commitment.

Household healing discussed in this dissertation attests to a practical turn in medical culture in late imperial China. Home was a center of health care practices and healing techniques. By focusing on the spatial dimension of medicine, we gain new perspective of medicine as a moral and religious practice. The larger context of gender relations and religious beliefs informed heterogeneous household healing practices and their representations. The woodblock print on the first page of this dissertation illustrates a domestic scene in which a daughter-in-law prepares medicinal decoctions for her parents-in-law; she fulfills her domestic duty by assisting her husband to serve his ill parents. This image accompanying prescriptive texts framed health care acts in relation to

the gender and power relationships in the home.[14] In contrast, encyclopediac and religious texts, such as the precious scroll by Chen Zhongxi, presented making and distributing medicine as a way of accumulating merit. The frontispiece of this precious scroll depicts a scene in which the whole Chen family, including Chen's parents, his wife, and a concubine, ascended to Heaven after Chen turned into an immortal. Stepping on a small cloud, Chen descended from Heaven to receive his family; a crowd of common people kneel down with incense in their hands to bid them farewell. (Figure 27). The message of this picture is clear: following the teachings of the precious scroll and doing good works would bring fortune to the whole family, even immortality. Practice-oriented recipes included in this precious scroll were not only practically important for domestic reference but also morally essential for one to do good work for divine rewards.[15]

Figure 27 Frontispiece of the *Zhongxi cuyan baojuan*

[14] This illustration comes from the seventeenth-century Kyoto reprint: Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue jicheng* (*Compendium of the Lesser Learning*), Kyoto: Shozaemon, 1658. Under "Illustrations," 20b. Paul Unschuld, *Medical Ethics in Imperial China: A Study in Historical Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1979, 2.

[15] Chen Zhongxi, *Zhongxi cuyan baojuan* (first pr. 1850), in *Zhonghua zhenben baojuan* 1, vol. 10, ed. Ma Xisha (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2012).

Appendix: Translation of the *Fabing* Treatises in the "Treatise on Illnesses that Require Ritual Treatment"

Figure 28 A Big Beast

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiazi*, the demon's family name is Chen. It has the appearance of a big beast. It looks for people with an open mouth. It cries out loud. It frightens family ancestors. It causes a person to feel absentminded. The demon sits on an iron utensil in the north. Call [the name of the demon] out to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 29 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *yichou*, the demon's family name is Wang. [It] sits and cries with untidy hair. It causes a person to feel fullness and distension in the heart and abdomen, and to have cold flashes on the body and headache. The demon sits on a utensil for storing salt in the north. Remove it (utensil) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 30 A Filial Son

If the illness occurs on the day of *bingyin*, the demon's family name is (Dai) He. It has the appearance of a filial son. It is crying with untidy hair. It causes a person to feel pain in the heart and abdomen. The demon sits on a scale in the north facing beverages and food. Remove the object (the scale) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 31 A Snake

If the illness occurs on the day of *dingmao*, the demon's family name is Lan. It has the appearance of a snake with white scale throughout its body. It directly enters into the house from outside. It causes a person to lose appetite and be unable to sit down or lying down peacefully. The demon sits on an oil lamp. Remove it (the lamp) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 32 A Wild Goose

If the illness occurs on the day of *wuchen*, the demon's family name is Su, and its given name is Niao. It has the appearance of a wild goose. It can frighten family ancestors and the Stove God. It causes a person to feel pain all over the body, and to be unable to sit or lying down peacefully. The demon sits on a water container. Remove it (the container) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 33 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *jisi*, the demon's family name is Zhou. It frightens the Door God to leave its original position. It causes a person to have heart pain, to vomit endlessly, and to talk nonsense. The demon sits on a basket and says only that it would like to listen to testimonies. Remove the object (the basket) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 34 A Big Beast

If the illness occurs on the day of *gengwu*, the demon's family name is Dai. It has the appearance of a big beast, with its mouth open wide as it searches for people. It causes a person to vomit upwards and have diarrhea downwards, feel frightened, and talk nonsense. The demon sits on a pair of broken shoes in the south. Remove it to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 35 A Gibbon

If the illness occurs on the day of *xinwei*, the demon's family name is Fan. It has the appearance of a gibbon, with its eyes and mouth open as it searches for people to eat. It causes a person to feel pain all over the body, and to be unable to sleep well. The demon sits on earthenware in the south. Call [the name of the demon] out to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 36 A Donkey

If the illness occurs on the day of *renshen*, the demon's family name is Dou. It has the appearance of a black donkey. It causes a person to lose appetite, have flashes of cold or heat, feel absentminded, and forget the future and the past. The demon sits on white utensil in the courtyard. Remove it (the utensil) to achieve auspiciousness.

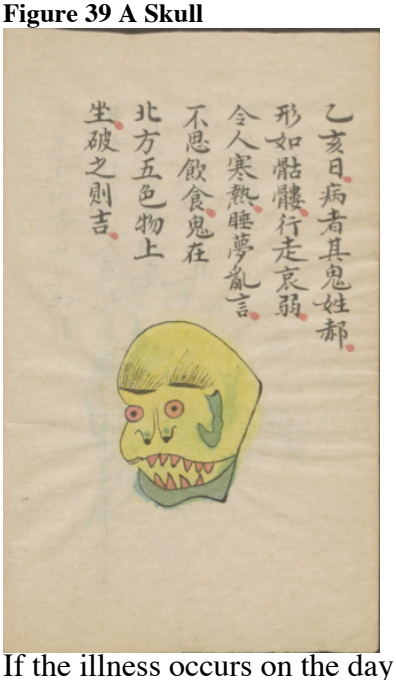
Figure 37 A Crab

If the illness occurs on the day of *kuiyou*, the demon's family name is Chen. It has the appearance of a crab, with short head and long body, crawling sideways. It causes a person to feel absentminded and headache. The demon hangs upside down on a wall in the west. Incant spells to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 38 A Ferocious Beast

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiashu*, the demon's family name is Guo. It has the appearance of a ferocious beast. It eats human bones and flesh upon any encounter. It frightens people, making a person cry out with pain endlessly. The demon raises its head over a piece of tile in the northwest. Remove it (the tile) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 39 A Skull



If the illness occurs on the day of *yihai*, the demon's family name is Hao. It has the appearance of a skull. It walks around frailly. It causes a person to feel hot and cold, talk nonsense in the dream, and lose appetite. The demon sits on a five-colored object in the north. Break it (the object) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 40 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *bingzi*, the demon's family name is Shao. It has two eyes, four hands, and one foot. It frightens the family ancestors, the stove god, and the door god (who normally would provide protection). It causes a person to feel heaviness in the body and become absent-minded. The demon sits on a wood utensil in the north. Remove the object to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 41 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *dingchou*, the demon's family name is Chai, and its given name is Qian. It has a vermilion-colored head and eyes that look like thunder light. It frightens and harms the family ancestors and the Stove God. It causes a person to feel suppressed in the head and fretful in the heart. The demon hides in an oil lamp. Incant spells to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 42 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *wuyin*, the demon's family name is Yan. It has four arms, holding an axe in its hands. It tends to strike the person it encounters. It causes a person's four limbs to be paralyzed and feel hot and cold alternatively. The demon sits on an iron utensil in the east. Remove it (the iron utensil) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 43 A Ferocious Beast

If the illness occurs on the day of *yimao*, the demon's family name is Hu. It has the appearance of a ferocious beast, sticking out its tongue to search for people. It causes a person to feel pain on the body, hot on the head, and distension in the abdomen. The demon sits on its side on a stone in the northeast an iron utensil. Remove it (the stone) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 44 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *gengchen*, the demon's family name is Lu. Its body is slim and weak. It sits down and walks around insanely. It causes a person to feel heaviness, talk nonsense, and forget the future and the past. The demon sits in a *hou* (meaning hole) in the north. Stuff it (the hole) with mud to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 45 A Beautiful Woman

If the illness occurs on the day of *xinsi*, the demon's family name is Lin. It has the appearance of a pretty girl, charming and wanton. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body, to sweat, and to feel excessive heat. The demon sits on a basket in the east. Remove it (the basket) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 46 A Roller

If the illness occurs on the day of *renwu*, the demon's family name is Ma. It has the appearance of a roller, rotating constantly. It causes a person to lose the sense of taste and feel heaviness in four limbs. The demon hides in a crack on a wall in the southeast. Cover it (the crack) with a piece of paper to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 47 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *kuiwei*, the demon's family name is Zhao, and its given name is Xiaonu. Its eyes cannot see any light. It causes a person to feel pain all over the body. The demon hides in a pair of used shoes in the south, crying and lingering there. Incant spells to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 48 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiashen*, the demon's family name is Qin. It asks for human brain to eat. It causes a person to have headache, to feel weakness in four limbs, and to be absentminded. The demon sits crying on a piece of wood in the southeast. Remove it (the wood) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 49 A Big Bird

If the illness occurs on the day of *yiyou*, the demon's family name is Gao. It has the appearance of a big bird. It causes a person to feel pain in the four limbs and mentally suppressed and confused. The demon sits on a gourd hanging on a wall in the southwest. It yells to frighten people. Remove the object (the gourd) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 50 A Corpse

If the illness occurs on the day of *bingwu*, the demon's family name is Xuan. It has the appearance of a corpse, lying on a bed and crying loud. (It causes a person to) sweat and have hectic fever, to mumble, and to refuse to eat and talk. All these make a person restless. The demon sits on a salt container in the northwest. Remove it (the container) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 51 A Carp

If the illness occurs on the day of *dinghai*, the demon's family name is Chen. It has the appearance of a carp, swallowing people with an open mouth. It causes a person to vomit and have dry nose, to lose sense on the four limbs, and to have hot and cold flashes. The demon sits on the shoes in the north by west, and enjoys eating soils. Remove the object (the shoes) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 52 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *wuzi*, the demon's family name is Sun. It bears extremely heavy punishment. It has a big mouth and pointed teeth, and holds a big stick in its hands. It frightens family ancestors. It causes a person to feel pain on the body. The demon sits on a desk at the eastern end of the ancestral hall, frightening people and crying loud. Incant spells to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 53 A Dragon

If the illness occurs on the day of *yichou*, the demon's family name is Wen. It frightens family ancestors and the six (domestic) gods. It causes a person to vomit and to feel suppressed and restless in the heart. The demon sits on a water container in the southeast. Call (the name of the demon) out to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 54 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *gengyin*, the demon's family name is Lian. It has three eyes and one foot, and holds an axe in its hand. It hurts whoever it encounters. It causes a person to have headache and to fall into long sleep. The demon sits on a bamboo pole, flipping up and down and crying constantly. Remove the object (the bamboo pole) to recover.

Figure 55 A Beautiful Woman

If the illness occurs on the day of *xinmao*, the demon's family name is Zhang, and its given name is E. It has the appearance of a beautiful woman, crying endlessly. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body and to have hot and cold flashes. The demon sits on an iron utensil in the southeast. Remove the object (the iron utensil) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 56 A Big Snake

If the illness occurs on the day of *renchen*, the demon's family name is Sun, and its given name is Le. It has the appearance of a big snake. It enters the house and frightens the six (domestic) gods. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body and confused in the heart. The demon sits on two utensils that are made respectively of earth and wool located in the corner of the house. It constantly jumps out (of the utensils) and clap its and hands and shake its head. Remove the objects (the utensils) to recover.

Figure 57 A Big Deer

If the illness occurs on the day of *guisi*, the demon's family name is Zong, and its given name is Zhi. It has the appearance of a big deer. It causes a person to feel pain all over the body. The demon sits in a hole behind the door. Fill the hole with mud to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 58 A Filial Son

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiawu*, the demon's family name is Qin, and its given name is Si. It has the appearance of a filial son. It has its hair hanging loose and cries loud. It wears no cloth on its body. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body and to have pain on the body and head. The demon sits in the hole of a hook on a wall in the southwest. Mix the soil from the eastern and western ground to stuff (the hole) to recover.

Figure 59 A Cuttle Fish

If the illness occurs on the day of *yiwei*, the demon's family name is Zhao, and its given name is Huang. It has the appearance of a cuttle fish. It causes a person to sweat and have hectic fever, to feel confused, suppressed, and restless. The demon sits on an incense burner in the ancestral hall. Call the name of Buddha loud one hundred times, sacrifice, and incant spells to recover.

Figure 60 A Gibbon

If the illness occurs on the day of *bingshen*, the demon's family name is He. It has the appearance of a gibbon. It sits down and stands up in an insane manner. It causes a person to feel absentminded and unsettled. The demon sits in a hole on a wall in the south. It fears being found by people. Stuff the hole to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 61 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *dingyou*, the demon's family name is Qiang, and its given name is Zhen. It has green face and red hairs, holding a wheel in its hands. It causes a person to feel dry and hot without sweat. The demon sits on a gourd hanging on a wall in the south. Remove it (the gourd) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 62 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *wushu*, the demon's family name is Nie. It holds a bow and arrows in its hands. It causes a person to have pain on the body and on the back, feeling like being squeezed by a stone. The demon sits on the top of a wooden utensil on a wall in the northwest. It cries fiercely without any sound, and shakes its head and behaves strangely. Incant spells to recover.

Figure 63 A Big Turtle

If the illness occurs on the day of *yihai*, the demon's family name is Wu, and its given name is Qi. It has the appearance of a big turtle. It pursues anyone it sees. It causes a person to suffer from diarrhea and soreness in legs, and to feel pain all over the body. The demon jumps up and down on an oil lamp, speaking bits and pieces without any order. Remove the object, and cut a pair of paper figure and then burn it to achieve peace.

Figure 64 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *gengzi*, the demon's family name is Chai, and its given name is Qiao. It has a lightweight and drifting body. It causes a person's soul and spirit confused, makes one awake frightened from dreams, lose the control of the future and forget the past, and roll over and over with sweat all over the body. The demon hides inside the cloth of the ill person. Burn the cloth on a fire to recover.

Figure 65 A Flying Bird

If the illness occurs on the day of *xinchou*, the demon's family name is Du. It has the appearance of a flying bird. It causes a person to confound his dream with his soul, to have headache and dry mouth, and to feel weakness in arms and legs. The demon sits on an iron utensil on the left side of the ill person. Beat (the iron utensil) with a stick thirty times, and call (the name of the demon) out to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 66 A Messenger of Death

If the illness occurs on the day of *renyin*, the demon's family name is Kong, and its given name is Fu. It has the appearance of a messenger of death. It occurs upon breaking the ground and doing household construction. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body, talk nonsense, and have pain on the head without sweat. The demon sits on an iron object on the gate. Incant spells to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 67 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *kuimao*, the demon's family name is Liu, and its given name is Chan. It has bloody sores all over the body. It causes a person to tremble, feel like being bitten by insects, and have dry throat and mouth. The demon hangs upside down on a piece of five-colored silk brocade in front of a bed, hiding under a color handkerchief. Remove it (the brocade and the handkerchief) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 68 A Swan Goose

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiachen*, the demon's family name is Yi. It has the appearance of a swan goose. It causes a person to lose appetite and have both cold and hot flashes. The demon sits in the clothes on a hanger. [It] makes trouble and harms people. Remove it (the clothes) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 69 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *yisi*, the demon's family name is Kong, and its given name is Mo. It has red and green patterns all over the body, a big mouth, and pointed hands. It holds a stone in its hand. It causes a person to feel dry in the mouth and distension in the abdomen, and feel confused in the heart. The demon sits in the hole of a hook above the head of the bed. Stuff it (the hole) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 70 A Lion

If the illness occurs on the day of *bingwu*, the demon's family name is Zhang, and its given name is Sheng. It has the appearance of a lion, walking and jumping constantly. It causes a person to have headache and excessive sweat, to feel heaviness on the four limbs, and to be unable to stand still. The demon sits on a bamboo utensil in the southeast. Remove it (the bamboo utensil) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 71 A Good-looking Woman

If the illness occurs on the day of *dingwei*, the demon's family name is Geng, and its given name is Tian. It has the appearance of a good-looking woman, laughing frequently in good manner. It causes a person to have headache, feel heaviness on the body, and have bitter taste in the mouth and lose the sense of taste. The demon sits on the clothes of the ill person. Remove it (the clothes) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 72 A Wheel

If the illness occurs on the day of *wushen*, the demon's family name is Liang, and its given name is Cai. It has the appearance of a wheel, moving intermittently. It causes a person to have a headache and redness in the cheeks, and to lose his or her appetite. The demon hides within the patient's hair. Incant spells to recover (from the illness).

Figure 73 A Gorilla

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiyou*, the demon's family name is Lü. It has the appearance of a gorilla. It causes a person to have a feeble body, to have headache and unsettled heart. The demon titters on a wall in the south. Incant spells to recover (from the illness).

Figure 74 A Ferocious Beast

If the illness occurs on the day of *gengshu*, the demon's family name is Xie. It has the appearance of a ferocious beast. It searches for people and bites [them] viciously. It causes a person to have pain on arms and legs, and to have bitter mouth and lose the sense of taste. The demon sits on the stove. [It] frightens the Stove God. Make a sacrifice to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 75 A Human-like Figure

If the illness occurs on the day of *xinhai*, the demon's family name is Su, and its given name is Zhen. It has three eyes and six arms. It causes a person to feel confused in the heart and weakness in four limbs, lose appetite, talk nonsense, and awake frightened from dreams. The demon sits on an iron utensil at the head of the bed. Remove it (the iron utensil) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 76 A Leopard

If the illness occurs on the day of *renzi*, the demon's family name is Can. It has the appearance of a leopard. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body, have pain on feet and bitter mouth. The demon sits on an oil bottle on a wall in the south. Remove it (the oil bottle) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 77 An Earthworm

If the illness occurs on the day of *kuichou*, the demon's family name is Jia. It has the appearance of an earthworm. It causes a person to feel pain on both hands and feet, like feeling insects crawling [on them]. The demon sits on a water container in the due north. Incant spells to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 78 A Big Pig

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiayin*, the demon's family name is Lu. It has the appearance of a big pig. It causes a person to feel like fire burning all over the body, sweat and have hectic fever, and vomit endlessly. The demon sits on a wall-mounted jar in the southeast. Remove the object (the jar) to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 79 A Toad

If the illness occurs on the day of *yimao*, the demon's family name is Yi. It has the appearance of a big pig. It likes to eat human blood. It causes a person to feel strengthless in four limbs and confused in the heart. The demon sits on an iron utensil in the southeast. Move it (the iron utensil) to achieve great auspiciousness.

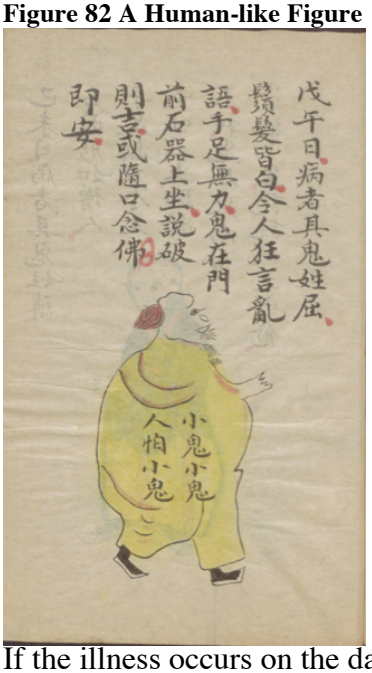
Figure 80 A Spider

If the illness occurs on the day of *bingchen*, the demon's family name is Fu. It has the appearance of a spider. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body, sweat and have hectic fever, and have strange dreams at night. The demon sits in a hole on a wall in the southeast. Stuff it (the hole) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 81 A Wolf

If the illness occurs on the day of *dingsi*, the demon's family name is Xing. It has the appearance of a wolf. It causes the Door God and Stove God to leave their original place. It causes a person to feel heaviness in four limbs and lose appetite. The demon sits on a porcelain utensil in the southeast, shaking head with its mouth open and chasing whoever it sees. Remove the object (porcelain utensil) to recover.

Figure 82 A Human-like Figure



If the illness occurs on the day of *wuwu*, the demon's family name is Qu. It has white hairs and sideburns. It causes a person to talk nonsense, and feel strengthless in hands and feet. The demon sits on a stoneware in front of the door. Call (the name of the demon) out to achieve auspiciousness. Or call the name of the Buddha casually to achieve peace. (Words on the demon's body read: Little demon, little demon, people fear little demon.)

Figure 83 A Monk

If the illness occurs on the day of *jiwei*, the demon's family name is Bo, and its given name is Xiao. It has the appearance of a monk and lacks strength in four limbs. It causes a person to vomit endlessly and feel confusion in the chest and head. The demon sits on a broom in a corner in the southeast. Call (the name of the demon) out to recover (from the illness).

Figure 84 A Daoist Priest

If the illness occurs on the day of *gengshen*, the demon's family name is Xiao, and its given name is Shang. Its body has the appearance of a Daoist master, holding an axe in its hands. It causes a person to feel excessive heat without sweating and to experience dryness in the mouth and absent-mindedness. The demon sits on the patient's five-colored clothes, restlessly shouting out. Call (the name of the demon) out to achieve auspiciousness.

Figure 85 A Flying Fish

If the illness occurs on the day of *xinyou*, the demon's family name is Qi, and its given name is Hua. It has the appearance of a flying fish, and [sometimes] it changes into a little ghost. It causes a person to sweat like being fried in hot oil. The demon sits on colored clothes at the head of a bed. Call (the name of the demon) out to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 86 A Big Snake

If the illness occurs on the day of *renshu*, the demon's family name is Yan. It has the appearance of a big snake. It causes a person to feel strengthless on hands and feet, feel heaviness on the body, and loose control in the present and forget the past. The demon sits on a mirror on the windowsill. Remove it (the mirror) to achieve great auspiciousness.

Figure 87 A Golden Feather Bird

If the illness occurs on the day of *kuihai*, the demon's family name is Cui. It has the appearance of golden-feather bird. It causes a person to feel heaviness on the body, have headache without any sweat. The demon sits on straw sandal on a bed. Remove it (the sandal) out to achieve peace.

Figure 88 King Ba

The demon has a surname of Wang and a given name of Ba. It has an ox head with a horse face. It eats people's souls. The person (who encounters it) is sure to die.
This demon seldom goes outside of its home. If he goes out and meets someone, the person must lose his life.

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